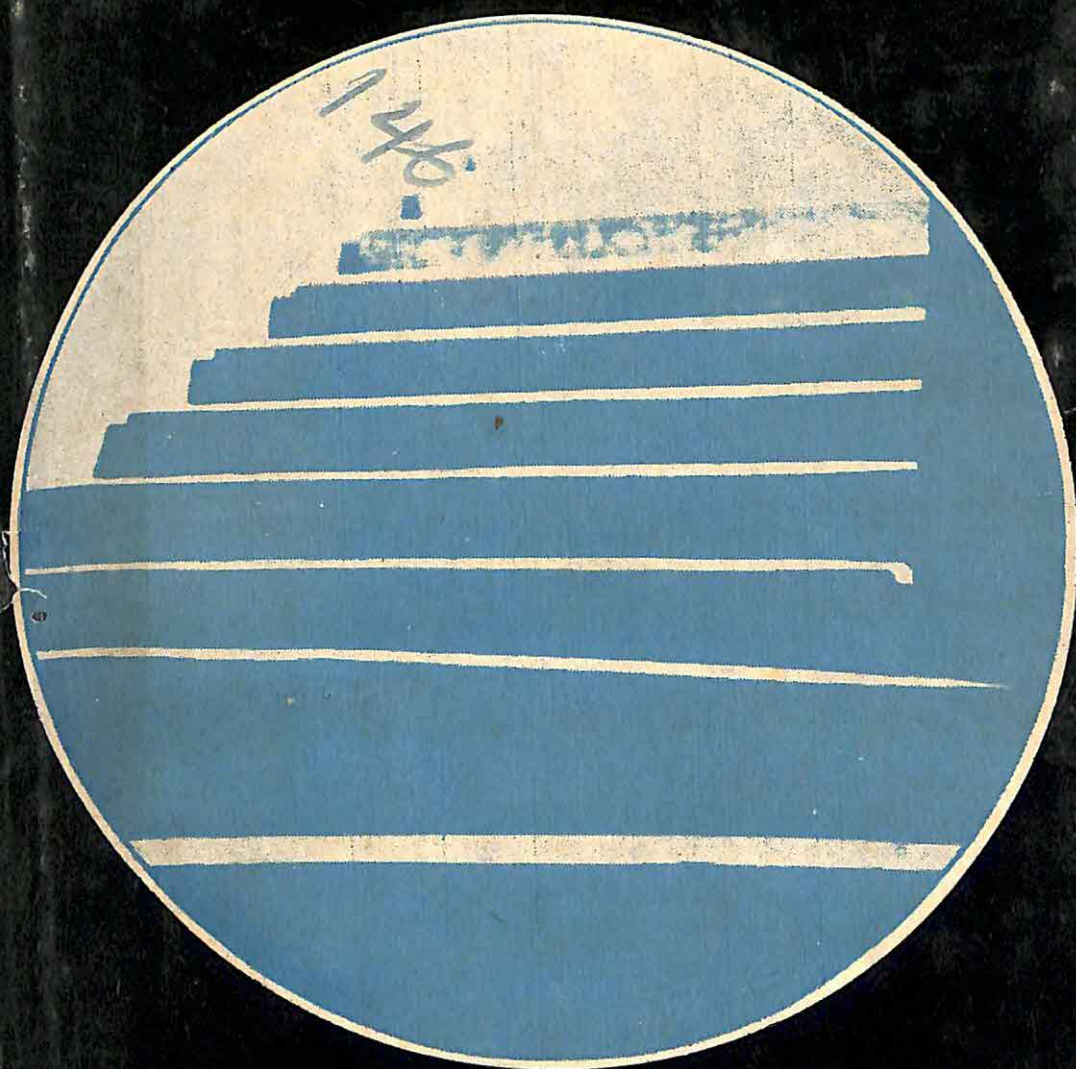


growing up in an urban complex



C.A. APHALE

Growing up in an Urban Complex

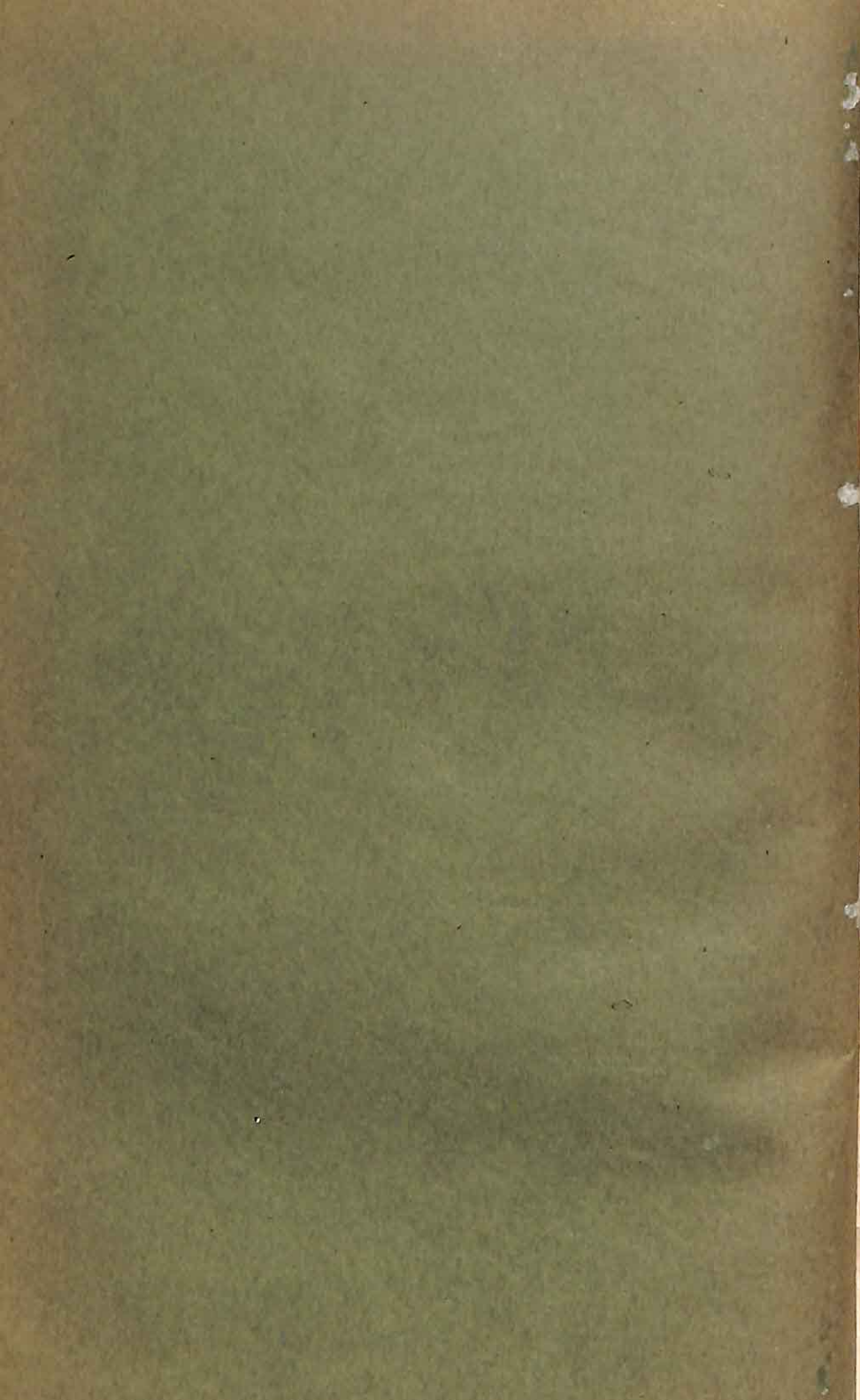
The child-rearing practices of different communities particularly of the primitive and isolated communities, have always attracted the attention of social anthropologists from various countries. This book is one such attempt which studies the child care practices of a cross section of Maharashtrian families in Poona city.

The main trends were evident. On the one hand there were families which showered a lot of attention to the expectant and nursing mothers and the young children through special foods, health care, medical attention, educational facilities and healthy entertainment. These were mostly the families which were educated, economically well-off, and also belonged to higher castes. On the other hand there were families which did not or rather could not pay much attention to the nutritional, health and educational needs of the expectant and nursing mothers and children in the family. These belonged mainly to the scheduled and artisan castes, were illiterate or slightly educated and followed low paid occupations.

The remaining families followed the practices of either of the two types described above depending on their economic and educational levels. In sum, the educational level and economic conditions of the family mould the growth and development of the future generation.

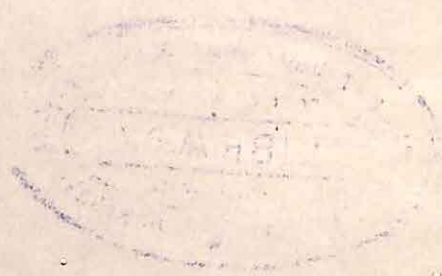
The recent developments of the adoption of a National Policy for children and the constitution of a National Children's Board with the Prime Minister as its President raises the expectations that the young generation of to-day and tomorrow can now hope to bloom into robust, intelligent and skilled persons who will contribute their mite to the national development.

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**Growing up
in an
Urban Complex**

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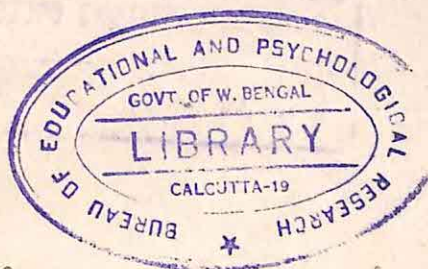


Growing up in an Urban Complex

*(A Study of Upbringing of Children in
Maharashtrian Hindu Families in Poona)*



Champa Aphale



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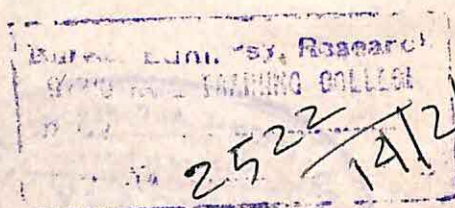
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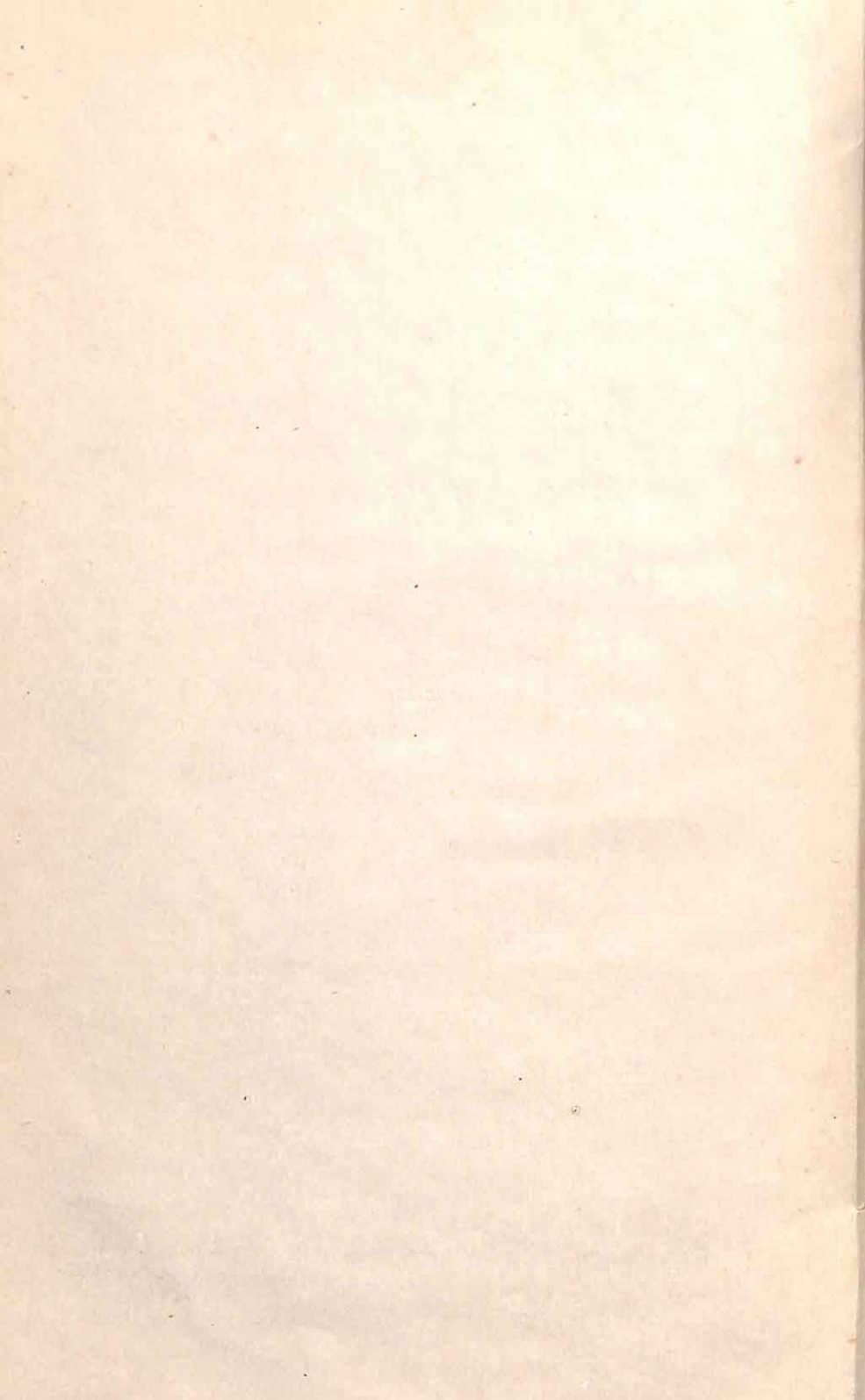
First Published : 1976



To

My Teacher

Irawati Karve



FOREWORD

There has always been a schism in the development pattern or the background in which children grow up in various regions of the country. This is a worldwide phenomenon and children in this country are not an exception to this observation. The diversity in the physical amenities, socio-cultural atmosphere in which children are brought up in rural and urban, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, upper caste/class and lower caste/class families has been quite prominent and in spite of the attempts to bridge the gulf and bring the haves and have-nots at par by the governmental and voluntary agencies through the welfare services/programmes for such children and families, the situation has not been improved to the desired end. The Govt. of India, after Independence, initiated welfare services for women and children in rural areas and slum areas in big cities. These measures attempted to provide education/social education, medical aid, nutrition and cultural amenities to these women and children. The social welfare services were altered and improved from time to time on the basis of experience gained to cover more aspects of child care among the families which needed such assistance. Much, however, remains to be done to allow the majority of children to grow and develop as normal and healthy human beings.

The publication "Growing up in an Urban Complex" was presented as a dissertation for Ph.D. degree of Poona University by Miss Champa Aphale, who worked under the guidance of late Prof. Irawati Karve. This is an attempt to throw light on the pattern or varieties of pattern of child care

among Maharashtrian Hindu families in Poona. The author had collected data about child care practices from 700 families with different educational, economic and cultural background. The survey highlighted that though the basic or core pattern of child care was uniform, there was diversity in it in different sub-cultures, mainly on account of difference in the economic, educational and to some extent cultural background of these families. The children in the privileged families enjoyed better facilities and atmosphere to grow and develop than those in the families less privileged on economic, educational and cultural fronts. These observations emerging from the study of a limited area are, in my opinion, applicable to the situation prevailing throughout the country and could, therefore, be taken into consideration by the government while formulating policies to provide minimum basic needs of the children from the less privileged families for the normal development of their brawn and brain. The healthy and intelligent 'ethos' of the nation will depend on the healthy growth and development of the children, the citizens of tomorrow. It will be a wise and long-term investment if the country will invest adequate funds on the child welfare programmes.

At the theoretical and methodological level, Dr. Aphale's publication makes a valuable contribution to the neglected field of culture and personality studies in India. It reminds us of Dr. Margaret Mead's researches on these themes in the first quarter of this century. How I wish that the doctoral research conducted by Dr. Aphale will be further pursued by her and other psychologically oriented anthropologists and sociologists with deeper socio-psychological orientation in various cross-cultural situations in different parts of India. Dr. Aphale deserves all appreciation for exploring almost a new field in Anthropology and Sociology and providing an initial model to be emulated by others.

Ranchi (Bihar)
January 1975

(L.P. Vidyarthi)
Professor & Head
Deptt. of Anthropology
University of Ranchi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research work for the Ph.D. degree was undertaken at the instance of my teacher, late Prof. Irawati Karve and was completed under her kind guidance. I shall always remain indebted to her for her able guidance which enabled me to successfully complete the project.

I am also obliged to Dr. Y. B. Damle who always extended his helping hand to me particularly in the absence of Mrs. Karve away from Poona. My special thanks are due to Dr. V. S. Huzurbazar who kindly allowed me to make use of the statistical laboratory at the University of Poona.

Thanks are also due to a great many friends and helpers through whose good offices contact was established with many of the families covered in the sample.

I am indeed grateful to the authorities of the Poona University who granted me the scholarship to take up the research work and also extension of terms for submission of the thesis.

I feel happy to record my thanks to my superior officers in the P.E.O. (Planning Commission) who encouraged me to complete the thesis.

I might not have been able to publish this book but for the financial assistance from the Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi. I am really grateful to the Council for sanctioning me the publication grant.

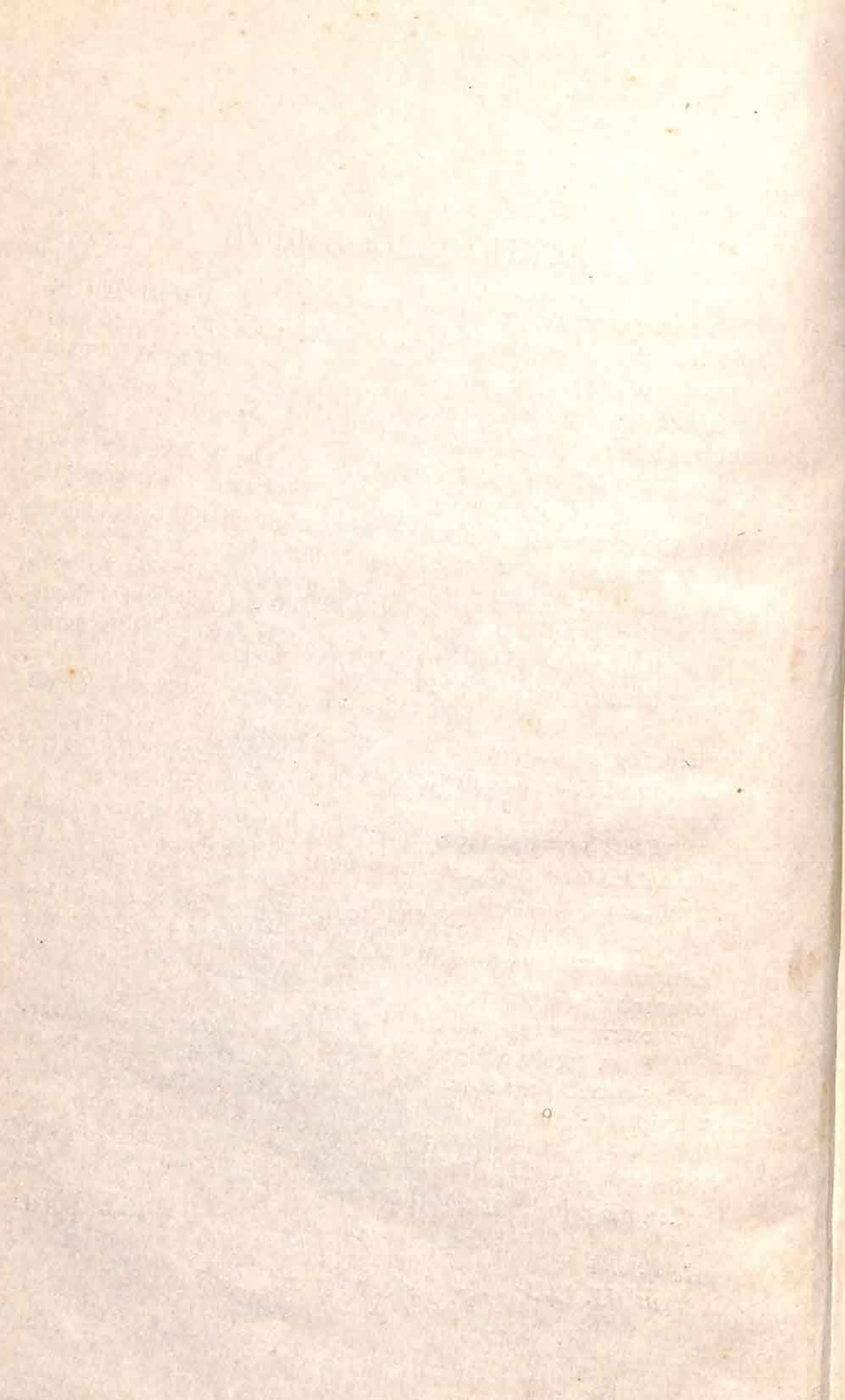
I am highly obliged to Prof. L.P. Vidyarthi who very kindly spared time from his multifarious assignments to go through the manuscript of this book and write the Foreword.

And finally I must make a special mention of the publishers M/s National Publishing House, New Delhi who have taken pains to bring out the book in a neat form.

CHAMPA APHALE

New Delhi

August 15, 1975



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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Genesis

The investigator was keenly interested in the problem of juvenile delinquency and wished to carry on investigation on that subject. A consultation with Dr. Mrs. I. Karve showed that two students had worked under her guidance on this very subject¹ and had submitted their theses. There was, however, no material which could give an idea of average normal conditions under which a child grew in an Indian household. Dr. Mrs. Karve persuaded this writer to undertake a survey with a view to find out these conditions and the present survey was undertaken.

In brief, the investigator intended to find out how children were brought up in the families belonging to different castes, economic groups and those with different educational achievements.

Scope

With this intention in view, it was decided to make a survey of children in about one thousand families residing in Poona. But the population of Poona included families from different states of India such as Bengal, Gujarat, Madras, Punjab, etc., as also families belonging to different religions such as Hindu, Muslim, Jain, Jew, Christian, Zoroastrian and so on. The problem would have been rather complicated, if such hetero-

1. Ruttonsha (Mrs.), 'Juvenile Delinquency and Destitution in Poona,' and Mehendale, Y.S., 'Adolescent Criminal.'

geneous families were selected for the survey, because cultural traditions varied in different religions and in different communities. Hence the survey was restricted only to the Maharashtra Hindu families in Poona.

In order to get an idea of how the little children were brought up, only such families, which had at least one child below the age of ten, were selected. This made it possible to ask the questions with reference to the actual mode in which children were brought up, rather than a reference in the distant past or another generation.

Methodology

It was necessary to decide upon a method to be followed in doing actual field work. The Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, in its survey of the city, followed the method of random sampling by surveying every 25th family which was picked out by referring to the serially numbered ration cards issued to the people of Poona in those days. When the present work was undertaken the rationing system had been discontinued. Neither could the writer with her limited resources in money and time adopt such a method in her survey work.

In addition to this, there were a number of difficulties arising out of the nature of the sample to be studied. In the first place, the families to be selected for the survey had to be Maharashtra Hindu families; secondly, there had to be at least one child under the age of ten in the family and so on. If, out of 1,00,000 families (according to 1951 census)² residing in Poona, one per cent sample was decided upon i.e. every 100th family would have been selected for the survey, there was no guarantee that this 100th family would be a Maharashtra Hindu family, having children or at least one child below the age of ten. Another difficulty in strict randomisation was that the investigator felt she would not get answers from complete strangers to a very exhaustive questionnaire. Hence it was planned to make a survey of Maharashtra Hindu families from different wards of Poona with different economic, edu-

2. Poona : A Re-Survey, Sovani, N. V., Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Publication No. 34, 1956, p. 4.

cational and cultural status.

J. H. S. Bossard had, in his book entitled "Parent and Child",³ stressed that methodology was an incident and not an end in research. And if viewed from this point, it would appear that attempts were made to make the present sample as representative as possible.

A number of books⁴ on the subject of the care of children and problems of children were consulted and the questionnaire was prepared taking into consideration the incidents and developments that take place in the life of a child from its birth. With the help of this questionnaire, a pilot survey of about twenty-five families was made and in the light of that experience the questionnaire was modified, then it was finalised and printed. The questionnaire is in Marathi language; its translation in English language is given in Appendix 'A'.

Interviews

The investigator used to put questions to the housewives and record their answers to the various questions. Each such interview lasted for an hour or two to three hours. Most of the housewives were required to be visited twice for getting the questionnaires filled. In case the husbands were present at the time of the interview, they helped to answer some of the questions to which the women could not give definite answers. These were the questions about the age, education and occupation of the husband. In this way, 700 samples were collected during the period from September 1954 to January 1956.

At first the investigator collected the information from her acquaintances and friends, and then requested these friends to

3. "The second requirement is an emphasis upon methodology as an incident, and not an end in research. It is my observation that research in the field of human behaviour often makes the researcher and his methodology too conspicuous like a suit of loud clothes. Good research technique should place student and technique very much in the background.... Good research technique accentuates the problem, not the procedure of its study." — *Parent and Child*, J. H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1953, p. 10.
4. A list of books is given in the bibliography (Appendix B).

introduce her to their neighbours, relatives, friends and acquaintances who fulfilled the conditions laid down as regards the choice of the sample families.

As the questionnaire was filled in through interview with the mothers in sample families, the work had to be done according to the convenience of the housewives. The housewives were busy with cooking in the morning; so the time at which they were free to discuss the matters was between 12 noon and 6 o'clock in the evening. As stated before, at least two sittings were necessary to fill the whole questionnaire. In over 60 per cent of the cases more than two interviews were necessary. The investigator found that these women were not antagonistic but rather shy to discuss what seemed to them intimate family matters. Some time, therefore, was always needed to explain the cause of the visit and the nature of the enquiry. This, together with the persuasion of ladies who accompanied the writer, generally succeeded in creating friendly atmosphere. The writer met about half a dozen women who refused to be interrogated.

With such an intensive propaganda against caste system, the writer could not gather definite information about the sub-castes of the informants from scheduled castes. These women hesitated to name their sub-castes and used to give evasive replies to further questions. Hence the data were presented in certain caste groups rather than according to individual caste names.

The same difficulty was experienced when the question of annual income of the family was put to the informants. In the first place, the informants were women and many of them had no definite idea about the income of their families. It seemed that the husbands did not give definite idea about their earnings to the wives. Such a situation was found prominently among uneducated families. But even those women who knew their annual income were not willing to disclose it to a stranger. Hence the families were grouped on the basis of the occupation of the head of the family rather than on the basis of annual income.

Educated women could give the necessary information about their own education as well as about the education of

their husbands. But many of the illiterate women had no idea about the education of their husbands. Some of them could only describe it in such words as "he has learnt a few books or he knows English", etc.

Educated women as well as some of the uneducated women could provide information about the grade and place of their husbands' occupations. A majority of illiterate women, however, could give information about the place of their husbands' occupations, but not about the grades of the posts held by them. They would, for example, say that their husbands worked at Kirkee or at Dapodi or in the Sassoon Hospital. They could not inform whether their husbands' work was of menial or of clerical type. These women had no definite idea about their husbands' age and their own age at the time of the marriage; or about their present age (and so the writer had to calculate their ages from the clues given by them) and at times, some of them knew their children's ages only approximately.

The Sample—Castes

Out of 700 families, 326 (46.57%) families belonged to the advanced castes among the Maharashtrians viz. Brahmins. In this group were also included families belonging to the Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhu (C.K.P.) caste (a non-Brahmin caste) besides the three sub-castes among the Brahmins, viz. Kokanastha Brahmins, Deshastha Brahmins and Saraswat Brahmins. The reason for this was that, though non-Brahmins, these C.K.P. families were very much near the Brahmin families as regards their educational and occupational status.

Two hundred and ten (30%) families belonged to Maratha and Sonar castes. Twenty-one (3%) families were from artisan castes like carpenter, tailor, potter, blacksmith, barber, etc.; while 12 (1.7%) families belonged to artisan castes like Mali (Gardener), Dhangar (Shepherd), Dhobi (Washerman), Gaoli (Milkman), etc. All these 243 families would be grouped in a single group designated in the later pages as "Intermediate castes".

One hundred and eleven families were obtained from different scheduled castes like Mahar, Mang, Dhed, Bhangi, Chamar and 3 families belonged to Vaddar caste. These 114 (16.3%)

families would form a single group designated as 'Scheduled Castes'.

Seventen (2.43%) families were obtained from other religions such as Christian, Muslim, etc. A few of these families were from other states in India. These families stayed in the neighbourhood of Hindu families in such localities as police quarters, porters' quarters. The women in these families used to feel unhappy if they were neglected by the investigator; hence a few of them were included in the sample. The investigator thought that these cases would prove useful for the sake of comparison with the other sample families.

Wards

The names of the wards represented in the sample are given below.

TABLE 1.1 Distribution of sample families according to the localities of their residences

Sl. No. (1)	Wards (2)	No. of cases (%) (3)
1.	Raviwar	7 (1.0)
2.	Somwar	93 (13.3)
3.	Mangalwar	19 (2.7)
4.	Budhwar, Kasba	19 (2.7)
5.	Guruwar (Vetal)	2 (0.3)
6.	Shukrawar	15 (2.14)
7.	Shaniwar	55 (7.85)
8.	Sadashiv	116 (16.57)
9.	Narayan	60 (8.57)
10.	Rasta	24 (3.43)
11.	Ganesh, Bhawani	12 (1.7)
12.	Navi Peth	37 (5.3)
13.	Deccan Gymkhana	31 (4.43)
14.	Shivajinagar	27 (3.85)
15.	Ashanagar Colony	20 (2.85)
16.	Suburban Municipal wards	106 (15.14)
17.	Yervada	3 (0.43)
18.	Poona Cantonment	22 (3.14)
19.	Erandwane	17 (2.43)
20.	Kirkee, Ganeshkhind	15 (2.14)
	Total	700

From this table, it could be gathered that most of the

villages included in the Poona Municipal Corporation area were not covered in this sample. Besides, Nihal, Nana, Gultekdi, Ganj and Ghorpadi wards were also not represented in this sample; while only a small number of families were obtained from Ganesh, Bhawani, Vetel (Guruwar) wards. Because of the heterogeneous character as regards the religion and provinces of the families living in these wards, it was not possible for the investigator to get introduced with more families. On the whole, a large number of sample families were obtained from Sadashiv, Somwar, Narayan, Shaniwar, Shukrawar wards, Deccan Gymkhana and Shivaji Nagar area in the city, and also from suburban municipal wards.

Education

Of the 700 families surveyed, women in 228 (32.57%) families were illiterate (out of these only 6 women had learnt how to sign their names in an adult education class), while 88 (12.57%) men were illiterate. Education of 263 (37.57%) women and of 211 (30.14%) men varied from the 1st standard to 7th standard in primary schools or upto the 3rd standard in middle schools. Two hundred and eight (29.7%) women and 368 (52.57%) men had studied upto matriculation or graduation. Some of them had post-graduate degrees also. Sixteen men had diplomas or degrees in technical educational courses like engineering, accountancy, overseer's course, etc. Thus, in the sample families, greater proportion of men were literate and had higher education than women. Exceptions to this will be noted in Table 1.2 which gives comparison between the educational qualifications of husbands and wives in sample families. (See table on the next page.)

The husbands of only 8 women had lower academic qualifications than their wives. In 3 of these cases, women who had studied upto the 4th standard had illiterate husbands, one woman educated upto the 7th standard in a primary school had a husband educated upto the 4th grade in a primary school; the husband of one matriculate woman had studied upto the 7th standard in a primary school while one graduate woman had a matriculate husband. The remaining women had husbands with equal or higher educational qualifications.

TABLE 1.2 Comparison of educational qualifications of husbands and wives in the sample

Wife's education	Husband's education							Total
	Illiterate	Upto 4th Std. primary	Upto 7th Std. primary	Upto matriculation	Upto graduation or above	Technical education	Not known	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Illiterate	83	72	47	20	1	1	4	228
2. Upto 4th Std. primary	3	17	46	34	5	—	7	112
3. Upto 7th Std. primary	2	1	27	84	28	5	4	151
4. Upto matriculation	—	—	1	66	89	10	1	167
5. Upto graduation or above	—	—	—	1	40	—	—	41
6. Not known	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Total	88	90	121	205	163	16	17	700

Occupations

Out of the 700 sample families, husbands in 160 (23%) families were unskilled labourers; those in 41 (5.85%) families were skilled labourers. Forty-four (6.3%) husbands were craftsmen and artists, 49 (7%) of them were engaged in small business; 281 (40.14%) husbands were clerks, school teachers and police or in similar occupations; while 45 (6.43%) of them were in services with higher salaries than received by those in the category of clerks, teachers, etc. Forty-four (6.3%) husbands were professionals and businessmen; 15 (2.14%) husbands were well-to-do i.e. they were pensioners, landlords and agriculturists, and 9 (1.3%) of them were unemployed or dependent on parents. The occupational status of 12 husbands was not known to their wives and hence information on this point was not given by them or these women were widows.

The scheme of occupational classification followed by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, in its report 'Poona—A Re-survey'⁵ has been adopted in this study. Of course, the scheme of the Gokhale Institute was not followed *in toto* in the present survey, but it was taken as a guide in classifying the occupations of the heads of households in the sample families. These occupational categories were arranged in an ascending order of social and economic status, except the 9th and 10th i.e. unemployed and those families in which the respondents did not know the occupations of their husbands or the husbands were not alive.

In the first category were included unskilled manual workers like ward-boys in hospitals, sweepers, butlers, coolies, office-peons, hawkers, dealers in second-hand goods, gatemen, railway porters, unskilled workers in mills, factories and bullock cart drivers, etc. In the second category were included skilled

5. "Our scheme of classification was arrived at after an elaborate process of listing, defining, weighing, etc., of such elements as economic and social status, skill, enterprise etc. Both social and economic factors were taken into account in defining the different grades of occupations. . . . The grades have not been distinguished by "skill" or "status" only. They are skill-status grades."—'Poona—A Re-survey', N. V. Sovani, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, Publication No. 34, 1956, p. 158.

labourers like fitters, masons, barbers, railway mistries, fire-fighters, motor drivers, gardeners, electric fitters, etc. The third category included craftsmen and artists such as tailors, carpenters, goldsmiths, draftsmen, motor mechanics, radio and watch repairers, radio artists, music teachers, photographers, painters. The families engaged in small business were the contractors, owners of chemist's shops, flower shops, *Pan* shops, bicycle shops, flour mills; or were the agents of a tea company, the traders in grocery and provisions, the proprietors of hotels and restaurants, of book shops, music library, typewriting institutes, and furniture shops. These families were included in the fourth category. The fifth category included school teachers, typists and clerks in the government and private offices; police, ticket collectors, drivers, guards in railways, sanitary inspectors, insurance agents, medical representatives, commission agents, research assistants, news reporters, salesmen, etc. The families grouped in the sixth occupational category were those in which the husbands drew higher salaries; they were college teachers, headclerks, superintendents, sub-inspectors of police, auditors, chartered accountants, Captains and Majors in the army, insurance inspectors, officers in military accounts department, inspectors of certified schools, etc. Pleaders, medical practitioners, architects, building contractors, engineers, etc., were included in the seventh category. The eighth category consisted of well-to-do families, i.e. of money-lenders, landlords, pensioners, agriculturists, etc. The ninth category included unemployed dependents and students in it.

As already mentioned, it was not possible for the investigator to collect definite information about the monthly or yearly income of the sample families. But the above classification of occupations of the heads of the families would be helpful to understand the socio-economic status of the sample families.

The sample families from different wards will be classified and described according to their castes, educational standards and their occupational categories in the following pages.

Castes : Wards

The advanced caste families were obtained in a large

number in Sadashiv, Narayan, Shaniwar, Somwar wards and in Deccan Gymkhana and Shivaji Nagar area; while intermediate caste families occupied suburban municipal wards, Navi Peth, Somwar ward and the wards in Poona Cantonment area. The scheduled caste families were obtained in suburban municipal wards, Somwar ward, Ashanagar colony and Mangalwar ward.

Certain wards in the city were heavily populated by people of certain castes. There were no restrictions in this regard as in the olden days; even so it was found that some of the wards were occupied by a large number of advanced or intermediate or scheduled caste people. Similar findings were arrived at in the study of Poona city undertaken by the Gokhale Institute, as will be evident from the quotation given in the footnote.⁶ In this sample, however, the majority of scheduled caste families had occupied government quarters, in which there were quite a few intermediate caste and some advanced caste families also.

Education : Wards

The majority of illiterate families were found in suburban municipal wards, Ashanagar colony, Somwar, Mangalwar and Navi Peth, etc. whereas slightly educated and highly educated families were found in Sadashiv, Narayan, Shaniwar, Somwar, Deccan Gymkhana, Shivajinagar areas. It must be noted here that wards occupied by illiterate families coincided to a major extent with those occupied by scheduled caste families.

Occupation : Wards

The families of unskilled labourers were mainly obtained in

6. (a) "Except in Sadashiv, Narayan, Shaniwar, Budhwar, Suburban Roads, Yervada, in all other wards in the first group, the Marathas were in majority. The Brahmins were in majority in Sadashiv, Narayan, Shaniwar, Budhwar and showed some concentration in Shivajinagar, Kasba, Somwar and Shukrawar in the first group of wards. . . . Mahar families showed concentrations in Shivajinagar, Mangalwar, Bhawani, Suburban Roads and Yervada."
 - (b) "In short we can say that the old historical distribution of communities in different wards had not markedly changed."
- 'Poona—A Re-survey', Sovani, N. V.. Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics. Poona, Publication No. 34, 1956, pp. 23-24.

Somwar, Mangalwar, Navi Peth, Ashanagar colony and Suburban Municipal wards, while those of skilled labourers were in Somwar, Shaniwar and Suburban Municipal wards. A large number of families of craftsmen and artists occupied Shaniwar, Sadashiv, Narayan wards and Poona Cantonment area; the families of small businessmen were in Shaniwar, Sadashiv, Navi Peth, and Erandwane area.

The families of clerks, teachers, police, etc. were concentrated in Somwar, Shaniwar, Sadashiv, Narayan, Rasta, Deccan Gymkhana, Shivajinagar wards; those of higher salaried posts, in Sadashiv, Narayan and Shivajinagar area. The professionals and businessmen were obtained in a large number in Shaniwar, Sadashiv, Narayan, Deccan Gymkhana and Shivajinagar wards.

Thus, the families following the occupations in categories I and II were concentrated in Somwar, Mangalwar, Navi Peth, Ashanagar colony, Suburban Municipal wards while a majority of those from categories III to VII were in Somwar, Shukrawar, Shaniwar, Sadashiv, Narayan, Rasta, Deccan Gymkhana, Shivajinagar and Kirkee wards.

Education : Castes

A large number of husbands i.e. 148 (45.4%) and 139 (42.64%) in advanced caste families were graduates and matriculates respectively. Fifteen (4.6%) of them had technical education. Only a small number of them were found to have primary school education while none of them was illiterate.

The largest number of husbands in intermediate caste families had studied upto 7th standard in primary schools, next to that i.e. 56 (23.04%) had studied upto the 4th standard in primary; while 53 (21.81%) of them had studied upto matriculation. Only 14 (5.76%) husbands had college education and one had technical education. Forty (16.46%) husbands from intermediate castes were illiterate.

The husbands in a large number of scheduled caste families i.e. 47 (41.23%) were illiterate; 32 (28.07%) of them had studied upto the 4th grade while 24 (21.05%) had studied upto the 7th grade in primary schools. Only 6 (5.3%) of them had high school education and none of them had college education.

As regards education of the wives in sample families, the largest number of them i.e. 155 (47.54%) from advanced castes were matriculates, 93 (28.52%) had studied upto the 7th grade in primary schools, 39 (11.97%) had college education; while only 12 (3.68%) of them were illiterate. Women from intermediate castes presented a different picture. A majority of them i.e. 122 (50.2%) were illiterate, 59 (24.28%) had studied upto the 4th standard in primary schools, 50 (20.57%) had studied upto the 7th standard in primary schools, 10 (4.1%) of them had high school education and only 2 (0.82%) had college education.

The majority of women from scheduled caste families i.e. 89 (78.07%) were illiterate, 20 (17.54%) had studied upto the 4th standard and only 4 (3.5%) had studied upto the 7th standard in primary schools. None of them had high school or college education.

Thus, both husbands and wives in advanced caste families had better education compared with those from other caste groups; those in intermediate caste families occupied an 'Intermediate' position between advanced and scheduled caste families and those in scheduled caste families were worst off among all the caste groups.

Occupation : Castes

As noted earlier, a large proportion of sample families belonged to unskilled, skilled labourers and to the category of teachers, clerks and higher salaried posts; and a smaller proportion of them were in business or professions. In the following paragraphs, the author will try to explain the inter-relation between the occupations and castes of the sample families.

The Brahmins and other advanced and intermediate caste families were in services or in business, professions while more families belonging to the scheduled castes were in occupations like unskilled, skilled labour. (A remark⁷ about the occupational

7. "Apart from the field of modern industry and trade the occupational distribution of various communities is seen to be influenced even more directly by the older social structure. Brahmins and other lettered castes enjoyed an advantage in the new era because of their practice and tradition of taking to formal learning. This habit stood them in good stead in the early days of British rule and secured entry to Government service and the new professions which,

distribution of various communities in Poona from the book "Poona : A Socio-economic Survey" would be helpful in this analysis.) One would naturally wonder why with all the privileges and concessions offered to the scheduled caste people, they should still be following their traditional occupations. Though these people were free to choose any occupation, in actual practice, it was difficult for a majority of them to get away from their traditional occupations. The lack of higher education and their poverty, which were both the cause and the result of each other, were mainly responsible for the slow progress of economic betterment of these people. A paragraph⁸ from the book "Poona : A Socio-economic Survey" would support this statement. Against the background of this discussion, the details about occupations of the heads of sample families belonging to different caste groups would be examined.

The majority of advanced caste families were in occupational categories of teachers, clerks, etc. and the remaining were in higher services, professions, business or were well-to-do. Only some of them were in the categories of craftsmen, artists and small business while none of them was unskilled labourer. Seventy-four (30.45%) intermediate caste families were teachers, clerks, etc. but nearly equal number of them i.e. 69 (28.4%)

next to modern industry and trade, proved the most lucrative. Those caste groups in indigenous society which had neither a tradition of book learning nor aptitudes and opportunities for modern trade and industry were to a large extent kept away from economic and, in consequence, partially from social advance also. The compelling effect of the caste situation was most clearly evident among the depressed and the untouchable castes."—Poona—A Socio-economic Survey, Part II, D. R. Gadgil, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona 4, Publication No. 25, 1952, p. 76.

8. "Though all the old taboos were no longer fully operative against them, their influence was yet powerful in all spheres. The original lowly occupations of these castes were rigidly defined and though, with the progress of the 19th century, the strict confinement of the members of these communities to their traditional occupations was not formally enforced, they would, for a variety of reasons, find it difficult to get away from these occupations."—Poona : A Socio-economic Survey, Part II, D. R. Gadgil, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona 4, Publication No. 25, 1952, p. 76.

were unskilled labourers. A small percentage of these families were in higher salaried posts or in professions. But well-to-dos amongst this caste group were nearly in equal percentage to those in advanced castes. These were the families of agriculturists. The largest percentage of scheduled caste families were unskilled labourers, only some of them were skilled labourers or clerks, police, etc. and none of them was in higher occupations i.e. in categories VI, VII VIII.

Leaving aside occasional and exceptional cases of illiterate or slightly educated people owning big business, generally the higher the educational qualifications of a person, better the type of occupation he followed. Particularly in service or in professions and to some extent in business also academic qualifications mattered a lot. Uneducated persons have to resort to lower types of vocations, though not quite unfrequently qualified persons were also found following the lower types of occupations.

Education : Occupation

Nearly 80% of illiterate men were unskilled labourers, only a small number of them were skilled labourers, craftsmen or were in small business. Three illiterate persons in the category of well-to-do were agriculturists who lived in villages near Poona. No one from this grade was in higher occupations i.e. in categories V, VI and VIII. Persons having primary school education were also in a large percentage in category of unskilled labourers, but a good number of them were in the category of clerks, teachers, etc. These were mainly railway police who were included in V occupational category. Two persons having primary school education, included in the category of higher salaried posts, were Jamadars in police department, who though less educated, were promoted after a long service in the department. The person included in the category of professionals was a building contractor.

The majority of matriculate and/or graduate persons were in the category of school teachers, clerks, and some of them were in higher salaried services and professions. Only a small number of them were in lower occupations. The persons with technical education were also mainly obtained in higher occu-

pational categories.

Occupations of Women

Women in rural areas usually helped their menfolk in the agricultural operations, etc., but women in urban areas, particularly those from families following white-collared jobs, looked after cooking and bringing up their children. With the constantly increasing living index since the World War II, womenfolk in these families were also expected to share the responsibility of earning bread for the family, except, of course, those who belonged to a very rich class. With the spread of education among women and with various possibilities for employment in the city, many women tried to share the responsibility of breadwinning also.

Women worked in schools, colleges, offices as well as were in medical, legal professions; while some of them worked as artists. The less educated women were engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Usually, service in the offices, schools, etc. presented no difficulty for unmarried girls but after marriage, particularly after the birth of children, breadwinning was not an easy job for women. In advanced foreign countries, electrical household gadgets and easily available tinned food had helped to lessen the burden off the women's shoulders; not so in India. Daily chores of cooking, cleaning, looking after children consumed a lot of their time. The working women had to attend offices after attending to their household duties. Of course, the situation varied in different families, depending upon the number of persons available to share household responsibilities. If there were elderly women in the families to look after cooking and children, there was not much difficulty for women to go out for work. The idea of menfolk helping women in household work was getting a foothold in Indian families also.

In the present sample only a small percentage of women worked outside their homes. Women in 621 (88.7%) families were housewives only and those in 79 (11.3%) families were earning members also. Five (0.7%) women were engaged in professions (3 were medical practitioners, 2 were artists). Seventeen (2.43%) women were either school or college teachers.

or were in service. Out of 17 (2.43%) women in business, 3 women owned vegetable shops, 7 women conducted sewing and knitting classes, 3 were in milk trade. Forty (5.7%) women were engaged in unskilled labour such as cleaning utensils, clothes in other families; in *bidi*-making, rope-making or worked as sweepers in the Sassoon Hospital.

Thus, it was observed that only 11.3 per cent women in the sample supplemented their family income. Though no specific data were collected whether all the remaining 621 women really did not want to work to earn money and supplement their family income, it could be stated from references made to this problem during the interviews, that a good number of these women were in need of earning extra income for the family. They were willing to work but were not successful in getting jobs or rather in getting jobs that were suitable for them.

Unemployment is a national problem. But a passing reference to it, particularly with regard to the problem of employment of housewives, will not be out of place. As stated earlier, many women particularly those in lower and middle classes wanted some part-time work, preferably which could be done at their residences during the spare time. (It is learnt that there is some such arrangement in Japan). Much of their time and creative energy were wasted in scandle-mongering or gossip-mongering. Some needy women did part-time work such as spinning or knitting at home. A government-sponsored scheme of this type was a success for some time to help women to supplement their family income. More schemes on similar lines would be very helpful to such families.

Thus, in the preceding pages, the background data about sample families i.e. information about their castes, the localities in which these families lived, their educational qualifications and occupations were given. In the next chapter information about physical, social and cultural environment of the sample families would be given in detail.

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT

In this chapter an attempt would be made to give information about the physical conditions in which children in sample families lived, about the cultural facilities that were available to them as well as about the constitution of the sample families.

Living Conditions

The houses in which sample families lived could be classified into three types : (a) owned, (b) rented and (c) concessionally rented or rent-free quarters. The concessionally rented quarters were those which were provided by the employing agency of the head of the family, at a concessional rent or even free of any rent. In many cases the investigator noticed that the informants did not know that the rent was cut from the salary of their husbands, while some women who knew that the rent was cut from their husbands' salary still called it rent-free, because the rent was not paid from the actual sum received in hand.

These concessionally rented quarters were available to the government servants such as railway porters, railway police, police and employees in the government hospital in Poona. A large number of these were one room tenements. The rooms were approximately 10' \times 10' in dimension, with one window and one door. In some of these quarters there was a varandah measuring about 2' to 4' in front of the rooms.

The building of the railway porters' quarters located near the railway station was built of bricks and mud and was in a

dilapidated state. The rooms in this building did not have good ventilation or light. The two storeyed building stood around a common open yard measuring about 30'×80'. Damp and darkness reigned over the rooms on the ground floor while the rooms on the first and second floor had a better ventilation and light. Water-taps and latrines were common amongst the tenants. In these tenements lived the families of 5 to 10 members. In some of the tenements lived joint families which included parents, brothers, sisters of the head of the family.

The newly built quarters for the employees of the Sassoon Hospital were in a far better condition as regards light, ventilation, etc. compared with the tenements of some of the middle class families in the sample. In these quarters, a family with less than five members was allotted one room while a family with more than five members occupied two rooms. Each two room tenement had an independent bath-room, a latrine and a water-tap. There was an open yard measuring about 40'×80' around which this building stood. This open space was used as a playground by the children.

Accommodation : Castes

A large percentage of families which occupied concessional rented quarters belonged to scheduled and intermediate castes and to lower occupational categories. This observation was corroborated by the findings in the survey of Poona City by the Gokhale Institute.¹ Only a small percentage of families from advanced castes and higher occupational categories

1. "...we find that among those who enjoyed concessional housing accommodation, Marathas, Depressed classes, Christians and Parsis showed a higher proportion than the general average. The concessional or free housing was associated with certain types of occupations like policemen, military personnel, cooks, butlers and ayahs, domestic servants and communities that had a higher representation in these occupations figured largely among those who enjoyed free or concessional housing. ... Those who enjoyed concessional housing were mainly concentrated in lower income groups. About 70% of such families had an annual income below Rs. 1000." Poona—A Re-Survey, N. V. Sovani, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, Publication No. 34, 1956, p. 403.

occupied the concessionally rented quarters. A larger percentage of families which owned houses belonged to advanced castes and to a lesser extent to intermediate castes. These families belonged to higher occupational categories. The families which occupied rented houses also belonged, in a majority of cases, to advanced and intermediate castes.

The majority of sample families i.e. 98 (61.25%) from occupational category I occupied concessionally rented quarters; this percentage decreased in category II; was still lower in the remaining categories and was totally absent in categories III, VII and VIII as the heads of these families were not in government service and as such were not entitled for government accommodation. Only a small percentage of the families from categories I and II owned the houses; this percentage was higher in higher occupational categories, being the highest in well-to-do families. The percentage of families living in rented houses was lower in category I, but it was comparatively uniform in categories II to VIII.

The buildings occupied by sample families were classified into 6 categories, referring to the number of tenants which shared the building. In the first category, the houses, either rented or owned, were occupied wholly by a single family. These were small independent houses with two to five rooms or were independent bungalows. In any case, only one family occupied the house. Forty-one (5.85%) families in the sample occupied such independent houses.

There were independent rooms or huts occupied by 16 (2.3%) families. Such huts were found in Ashanagar colony and in Erandwane village. Each hut was a unit by itself. The huts in Ashanagar colony were made of waste material like tin-sheets and those in Erandwane were built with bricks and mud. The dimensions of the huts were approximately 6' x 6' in Ashanagar colony while these were a little more spacious in Erandwane village. These tenements lacked sanitary facilities such as a water-tap, a bath-room and a latrine. The families which occupied these huts used public water-taps and latrines. These families in Ashanagar colony utilised the inner space of their huts for cooking, eating their food and for sleeping while for the rest of the period of the day the adult

members prepared articles of tin outside their huts or roamed in the city streets selling or buying second-hand articles. Their children played nearby the huts.

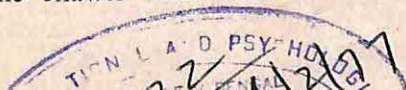
Most of the buildings with 2 to 5 tenants were newly built bungalows or buildings divided into flats with independent sanitary facilities. Many old and big buildings, termed 'Wadas' in local language, were occupied by 6 to 10 or still larger number of families. In these buildings, the rooms were built round a sun court; the bath-rooms, water-taps and latrines were common amongst the tenants. Some of these 'wadas' were originally built for the family of owners, nearly two generations back, but it was difficult for their present owners to maintain the whole building for themselves and so the portions of these buildings were let to other families. One hundred and fifty-four (22%) sample families occupied buildings with 2 to 5 tenants and 155 (22.1%) families lived in buildings having 6 to 10 other tenants.

The buildings locally termed as 'chawls' were occupied by more than 10 tenants, sometimes by more than 25 tenants also. These were one or two room tenements built round a large quadrangle with the water-taps, bath-rooms and the latrines common amongst the tenants. Ninety-nine (14.1%) families lived in 'chawls' with more than 10 tenants and 220 (31.4%) families occupied 'chawls' with more than 25 tenants.

The families which occupied independent houses belonged mainly to advanced and intermediate castes; while those which occupied independent huts belonged to scheduled castes. The families which occupied the buildings with 2-5 tenants, or 'wadas' with 6 to 10 tenants, and 'chawls' with more than 10 tenants belonged in a larger number to advanced and intermediate castes. The largest number of scheduled and intermediate caste families occupied 'chawls' with more than 25 tenants. Also, the families belonging to lower occupational categories lived in tenements which were shared by more than 10 to 25 tenants. More families from higher occupational categories lived in buildings with about 5 tenants or in independent houses or bungalows.

This situation was significant from the point of view of sanitation. The 'chawls' and 'wadas' had water-taps, latrines

136.5



and bath-rooms in lesser numbers, in proportion of the families which shared accommodation. Families which occupied buildings with less than 5 tenants or independent houses had better sanitary facilities compared with the families living in 'wadas' and 'chawls'. Some of the sample families used public water-taps and used open space of fields etc. nearby their residence for defaecation. These were the families which stayed in Erandwane village which was not developed with drainage and water facilities by the Poona Municipal Corporation. If anyone wanted to avail of these facilities, one had to construct and connect drainage and water pipeline from the nearest place having these lines constructed by the Municipal Corporation upto his residence at his own cost. This task was beyond the reach of poorer families. Sixteen (2.3%) families were found in this category.

Fourteen (2%) sample families used public water-taps and latrines provided by the Municipal Corporation, as the owners of these buildings could not afford to pay the necessary taxes. These families lived in Raviwar, Kasba, Mangalwar wards of the city. Twenty-two per cent families had to share water-taps, latrines with other tenants in the buildings occupied by them. These were the tenements referred to earlier as 'chawls' and 'wadas'. In 'wadas', the lesser number of tenants had to share a latrine and a water-tap than those living in 'chawls'. The bickerings amongst womenfolk over the use of a water-tap etc. was a common feature in these 'chawls'.

Thirty-seven per cent families had to share latrines and water-taps with other tenants but had an improvised bathroom in the kitchen. This type of bathroom measuring about 5' x 3' was constructed in the corner of a kitchen. Women and children in the family could take bath in these bathrooms.

Seventeen per cent families had independent bathrooms and water-taps but shared latrines with other tenants in the buildings while nineteen per cent of them had independent bathrooms, water-taps as well as latrines. These were the families which occupied independent houses or those who lived in the flats having independent sanitary facilities.

More families of scheduled and intermediate castes had to use public water-taps and latrines. The families which shared

water-taps and latrines with other tenants were also found in a greater number in intermediate and scheduled castes. The families which had the facility of having a bathroom in their kitchen but shared the water-tap and latrine with other tenants and also those who had independent water-tap and bathroom but shared latrines belonged, in a large percentage, to intermediate and advanced castes. Curiously enough, the largest percentage of families i.e. 31 (27.2%), occupying quarters with independent latrines, bathroom etc. belonged to the scheduled castes; while 81 (24.85%) belonged to advanced castes and 20 (8.3%) belonged to intermediate castes. These scheduled caste families of unskilled labourers lived in newly built quarters for ward boys, sweepers etc. employed in the Sassoon Hospital. Independent sanitary facilities were available in these buildings.

Accommodation : Occupations

Occupational classification of sample families pointed that the families which used public water-taps and open space of fields, etc. for defaecation belonged to categories VIII, IV and I. These were the families of agriculturists, Vaddars (earth workers), milk-traders and coolies, etc. living in Erandwane and other villages nearby Poona. Those families which used public water-taps and latrines were mainly found in the first two occupational categories. These families lived in the city in Raviwar, Kasba, Mangalwar wards and in Ashanagar colony; and were engaged in doing some unskilled work like tin-smithy, rope-making, buying and selling empty tins and bottles.

The families which had to share sanitary facilities with a large number of other tenants belonged in a large number to categories I to IV, VIII and IX. These were the families of unskilled labourers, peons serving in government offices which occupied 'chawls' owned by government or private individuals. A good number of sample families from categories II to V had independent bathrooms in the kitchen, though they shared other sanitary facilities with other tenants in these buildings. This facility of having a bathroom in the kitchen was found in railway porters' quarters and as such quite a large number of families of skilled and unskilled labourers enjoyed this facility.

A large percentage of families from occupational grades V to VIII had independent bathrooms and water-taps but had to use latrines in common with other tenants in the buildings; while nearly the same percentage of families from occupational categories VI to IX had independent sanitary facilities. However, as stated earlier, the families of unskilled labourers (category I) serving in the government hospital had also independent facilities in their newly built quarters.

Thus, the families belonging to advanced castes and higher occupational categories had better sanitary facilities, while those from other caste groups as well as from lower occupational categories were worse off in this respect. Because of the small number of latrines in these tenements, children upto 8 to 10 years' age had to use open gutters or open space near these quarters for defaecation which created insanitary conditions around these quarters. The condition was still worsened by having lesser number of water-taps in these tenements.

Use of Electricity

Another item of comfort in the houses of sample families was lighting arrangement. Poona city had a supply of electricity over a number of years, yet not all houses could have electric connections. It was observed that 265 (37.8%) families used kerosene lamps, 400 (57.1%) used electric light which was just sufficient for their necessity i.e. one point in a room; but 35 (5%) families used electric light lavishly i.e. they used table lamps and other decorative pieces.

The majority of families which used kerosene lamps were from intermediate and scheduled castes. These families occupied the concessionally rented government quarters, 'wadās' and 'chawls' which were not provided with electric connection. Most of the advanced caste families used electric light and about 10 per cent of them used electric light in a lavish manner. Forty-seven per cent intermediate caste families and only 10 (8.7%) scheduled caste families used electric light.

The majority of families belonging to occupational categories of unskilled labour, skilled labour, unemployed and well-to-do (agriculturists living in nearby villages) used kerosene lamps; while a smaller percentage from categories III, IV, V and VI

also used kerosene lamps. A majority of families from categories III to VII used electric light and a considerable number of families from higher salaried posts, professionals and well-to-do used electric light in a quite lavish manner.

Children under review were mostly attending primary schools, or were below school-going age. These were not ordinarily expected to study at night in the light of kerosene lamps, but their older siblings studying in higher standards had to read in the light of the kerosene lamps and if the conditions did not improve, the younger children would also be required to study in the light of kerosene lamps.

Furniture

The enquiry was made about the pieces of furniture owned by sample families. It was revealed that 278 (39.7%) families did not own and use furniture. One hundred (14.3%) families owned one or two items of furniture such as a table and a chair, or a cot and a chair etc. while 207 (29.5%) families owned a chair, a table and a cot. Only 8 per cent families owned extra pieces of furniture like an almirah, a dressing table, etc. in addition to a table, a chair and a cot; while 54 (7.7%) families owned a sofa set, a dressing table, chairs, cots, etc.

Thus, children in 585 (83.5%) sample families did not use furniture; of these 278 (39.7%) families did not own furniture while in the remaining cases whatever furniture was owned by the families, was generally used by the head of the family or by other adult members in them. Only in about 110 (15.7%) cases, children could make use of furniture owned by these families.

A large number of scheduled caste (106 i.e. 93%) and intermediate caste (135 i.e. 55.55%) families did not own any furniture. Fiftyeight (23.87%) intermediate caste families and 34 (10.43%) advanced caste families owned one or two pieces of furniture. The families which owned a few pieces of furniture like a cot, a chair and a table also belonged to advanced and intermediate castes; while those which owned costly furniture like almirahs, dressing tables, sofa sets etc. mainly belonged to advanced castes.

The families which did not own any furniture belonged, in

a larger number, to lower occupational categories. Most of the families from categories III to VII owned a few pieces of furniture while those which owned sufficient amount of furniture were concentrated in categories IV to VIII. Thus, the families belonging to advanced castes and higher occupational categories had a number of items of furniture in their homes.

Cultural Environment

The few questions were put to find out whether the sample families possessed radios, phonographs; whether they purchased and read newspapers, magazines, books, etc. Enquiries were also made whether the families owned items such as a sewing machine, any musical instrument, a motor car, a telephone etc. Only a few rich families owned one or more of these items and hence the data were not analysed further.

The majority of families did not own either a radio or a phonograph. Only 20 per cent families owned the radios, 17 (2.4%) of them owned the phonographs and 25 (3.1%) families owned a radio and a phonograph. Of the families which owned a radio or a phonograph or both these items, the majority belonged to advanced castes and to the higher occupational categories.

Information was collected whether the sample families purchased newspapers, magazines and books. This question was directly related to whether these families were illiterate, literate or educated. The problem of purchasing newspapers etc. did not arise in the families in which both husband and wife were illiterate. Even in families in which husbands and/or wives were literate or educated, the question depended on the economic conditions of these families. A majority of sample families purchased newspapers in vernacular languages though some highly educated families did purchase newspapers, books, etc. in English language.

More than half of the total sample families did not purchase newspapers. Educated persons from these 380 families used to visit libraries for reading newspapers or they borrowed and read newspapers from their neighbours, though they themselves did not purchase the newspapers. Thirty-nine per cent sample families purchased newspapers; 31 (4.4%) families

purchased newspapers and were also members of public libraries from which they could get books and magazines for reading while only 17 (2.4%) families purchased newspapers, magazines and books also. It was observed that a high percentage of scheduled and intermediate caste families did not purchase newspapers, while a large percentage of advanced caste families spent on newspapers as well as on books and magazines also.

Thus, it was observed that advanced caste and educated families which also belonged to higher occupational categories had better cultural facilities than those belonging to other castes and lower occupational categories.

Social Environment

The importance of family in the early years of the child's life needs hardly to be stressed. The role of family has been described as intrinsic to human life and society by R.N. Anshen.² The family is described as the most fundamental unit of modern culture by A. Gessel. He has further pointed out that the household serves as a "cultural workshop" for the transmission of old traditions and for the creation of new social values.³ It has been described as a household group that moulds the behaviour of children by J.H.S. Bossard.⁴ It is therefore necessary to study the constitution of sample families and find out the social atmosphere in which children in the sample lived. These details relate to the relatives of husbands and wives who lived in the family or those who lived separately in Poona or outside Poona. Information about the number of children in sample families, about their ages and education, etc. will also be given in the following pages.

The relatives of husbands living in the families were helpful in looking after children. Their presence in the family was useful from the point of view of companionship available to children. The relatives who lived separately in Poona were

2. *Family : Its Function and Destiny*, R. N. Anshen, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1949, preface.
3. *Infant and Child in the Culture of To-day*, A. Gessel and F. ILG, Hamish Hamilton Ltd., London, 1943, p. 9.
4. *Parent and Child*, J. H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1953, p. 51.

also of some help, whenever children were either ill or the family had to celebrate some functions, etc. In the single (nuclear) families the burden of bringing up children fell on the shoulders of parents, slightly heavier on that of the mothers. Such was not the case in joint families wherein the relatives of a husband or a wife looked after bathing, feeding, etc. of the young children. They were helpful to children in their studies also. In joint families, there was at times a danger of children of some of the brothers and sisters being treated partially. Such partial treatment usually originated from the position occupied and the earnings of different brothers in the same family.

Types of Families

In the present sample there were 468 (66.8%) single families and 232 (33.1%) joint families. In these joint families, in addition to husbands, wives and their children, there were husbands' parents, brothers, sisters, sisters-in-law and their children. In only 13 families the relatives of wives lived with them. Of the single families, 59 (8.4%) families had one child, 298 (42.5%) families had two to four children, 100 (14.3%) families had more than 4 children. In 11 cases the respondents were second wives of their husbands and the children of both wives lived together with their parents. Out of these, 4 respondents had married the husbands of their sisters who had died. In 197 (28.1%) cases husband's parents and/or brothers, sisters lived together under the same roof. Twenty-one respondents and their children lived with their husband's relatives. Of these 9 were widows, while husbands of 12 women lived outside Poona, at the places of their services. In only one case a widower and his children lived along with his parents. This was the only case in the sample in which the mother was dead, there was no step-mother either and children were brought up by other members in the family.

Thus, in a large number of cases, the children sample families had a group life restricted to their parents and siblings. Those children who had relatives of their parents living in Poona or outside Poona used to visit them and were in turn,

visited by them. But this was not a permanent feature and the major burden of looking after the children fell on the shoulders of their parents.

Single families of parents with one child were obtained in a larger number in advanced castes while those with parents and 2 to 4 children or more than 4 children were mainly amongst scheduled and intermediate caste families. A larger percentage of advanced and intermediate caste respondents still maintained the joint families with parents-in-law, sisters and brothers-in-law living under the same roof.

The discussion so far referred to the family members who lived under the same roof. Now a reference would be made to the relatives of the husbands and wives living separately in Poona or outside Poona. Though the tendency of having independent single families was on an increase, the relatives living in Poona or outside Poona were still counted upon in case of emergencies. The relatives in Poona were helpful to the parents in looking after the children, particularly in illness or if the mothers had to go out for work. A visit to these relatives was a source of recreation to the children.

One hundred (14.3%) sample families had no relatives living in the family in Poona or living outside Poona. In 107 (15.3%) cases, husbands' relatives lived in the family. The husbands' relatives in 93 (13.3%) families lived separately in Poona while those in 267 (38.1%) families lived outside Poona. In about 4 per cent cases there were relatives living in the family as well as separately in the city; while in 68 (9.7%) cases there were relatives in the family as well as outside Poona. The relatives of 24 (3.4%) families lived in Poona as well as outside Poona but there were no relatives in the families. In 7 (1%) cases, there were relatives living in the family in Poona as well as outside Poona. Only one per cent families were not on good terms with their relatives.

Thus, the majority of sample families had relatives living in the family, and/or in Poona and/or living outside Poona. The sample families had a lot of contact with their relatives and these relatives were helpful in case of illness and other emergencies in the families.

Relatives of Wives

Information was also collected about the relatives of the respondents i.e. wives in the families. In only 13 cases the relatives of the respondents lived with them. These were, however, exceptional cases. The relatives of the respondents were helpful in bringing up young children. It was customary for women to go to their parents' home for at least their first delivery. As would be noted in Chapter 3, 180 (25.7%) women in the sample had their first deliveries at their parents' home; while 380 (54.3%) women had one or more deliveries at their parents' home.

There were more chances of women going for delivery to their parents' home, if either one or both the parents were alive. This also depended on the economic conditions of their parents. Usually women could take more rest and were better taken care of, before and after deliveries, at their parents' home. In cases the grandparents lived outside Poona, the children had occasions to visit them during the holidays. A few cases were noted in which the working women used to keep their children at their parents' home while they attended their offices.

In only 49 (7.0%) cases the respondents had no relatives i.e. parents or brothers, sisters, etc. In 271 (38.7%) cases the respondents had parents, brothers, sisters; in a few cases there were, in addition, grandparents also. Women in 178 families had either of the parents and brothers, sisters-in-law, etc. In 184 cases the respondents had mothers, brothers, sisters, and sisters-in-law. In 10 (1.4%) cases, the respondents had married sister only. Thus, about 93% of the women in sample families had parents or other relatives living in Poona or outside Poona.

Number of Children

So far the information about the types of sample families and about the relatives of the husbands and wives was given. Now the discussion would concentrate on the number of children in sample families, their ages and their education, etc. The number of living children in sample families varied from one to ten; in two families there were more than ten children. It should be borne in mind while going through the

following discussion that some of these families were completed families while in others, women were quite young and had not crossed the age limit of child-bearing.

The largest percentage of sample families i.e. 177 (25.3%) had two children, 157 (22.4%) families had three children, 128 (18.3%) families had four children, 107 (15.3%) families had one child. The number of children varied from 5 to 10 in the remaining families. There were 9 children in 5 families and in only 2 families there were ten or more than ten children. Thus, about 569 i.e. 81.3 per cent of the sample families had 1 to 4 children, while the remaining families had five to ten children. The greater percentage of families which had one to three children belonged to advanced castes, while the largest number of families having 4 children belonged to intermediate castes; and those having 5 to 10 or more children belonged in a large percentage to the scheduled castes.

A larger percentage of families having one or two children belonged to higher educational grades while a majority of those with four and more children belonged to lower educational grades.

It was observed that in a large number of families the age of the youngest child was below three years while that of the eldest child ranged between 6 and 15 years.

Education of Children

The primary school education was made free and compulsory in the area of the Poona Municipal Corporation since 1950. It was enjoined by law that every child, on completion of its fifth year, must be sent to a primary school. According to this standard, children were expected to complete their 5th grade in a primary school at the age of ten. This, however, depended on whether the children were sent to schools at a proper age, whether they were successful every year in their annual examinations. Some cases were noted in which parents were not or could not be careful to send their children to schools at the age laid down by law. Moreover, not all children who went to schools on completion of their 5th year, passed their annual examinations and they were still in lower grades. On the other hand, there were families who coached

their children at home and/or sent them to pre-primary schools after completion of their third year. Intelligent children could skip one or two grades in primary schools and be in 6th or 7th grade at the age of ten years.

In 160 (22.8%) sample families there were no children of school-going age, while in 43 (6.1%) families children of school-going age did not attend schools. Children in 51 (7.3%) families were in pre-primary schools. In 378 (54.0%) families some children were in pre-primary and some in primary schools. Children in 66 (9.4%) families studied in pre-primary, primary and middle schools. Thus, it was observed that the majority of sample families took care to send their children to schools at the proper age. Only 6 per cent of the families were an exception to this.

The children who were not sent to schools even when they were 5 years old were from scheduled and intermediate caste families which also were illiterate or slightly educated. These families were either negligent in obeying the law or wilfully avoided to send the children to schools for some reasons. It was, however, evident that the scheme of compulsory primary education was not fully implemented. The defaulters mainly belonged to scheduled and intermediate castes as well as poor and illiterate families. Only a small number of these families sent their children to pre-primary schools. On the contrary the highly educated and advanced caste families sent their children to pre-primary schools, entered them in primary schools at the proper age with the result that in some families children below 11 years were studying in 6th or 7th standard.

The information about educational standard of children above eleven years was collected to have some idea about the future of education of their younger siblings. The families in which older boys and girls had high school and college education were more or less sure to give that much education to younger children when they grew up.

In 88 (12.5%) families, children above eleven years studied in primary and middle schools; in 89 (12.7%) families, children studied in high schools. Some children in 22 (3.1%) families were in high schools and some of them had completed their

studies and had left schools. Children in 16 (2.3%) families studied in high schools and colleges while children in 12 (1.7%) families were in high schools and colleges and some of them had completed their education.

In these cases also it was observed that children above 11 years in intermediate and scheduled caste families which were illiterate or slightly educated, still studied in primary and middle schools. Children from advanced and highly educated families studied in high schools and colleges. Children in none of the scheduled caste and illiterate families were in colleges. Thus, the tradition of taking to formal education was more predominant in advanced caste families, while intermediate and scheduled caste families were not fully utilising the facilities available to them in the form of free education in the municipal schools.

To summarise, the study of physical conditions in which sample families lived revealed that these conditions varied from the most comfortable environment found in bungalows, or flats with independent water-taps, bathrooms and latrines, to the slight protection obtained by families living in huts which had to use public water-taps and latrines. The various items of furniture for comfort and convenience, facilities for cultural advancement such as reading the newspapers, listening to radio broadcasts, were available to children in a greater number of educated and advanced caste families which belonged to higher occupational categories. Children in intermediate and scheduled caste families were sufferers in this respect also.

The majority of sample families were single (nuclear), the remaining being joint families having husband's parents, brothers, sisters, etc. Most of the sample families had relatives living in Poona and/or outside Poona. The number of children in these families varied from one to ten. The advanced caste and educated families had lesser number of children than the families belonging to intermediate and scheduled castes. Parents in educated and advanced caste families were more careful about the progress of their children in the studies than those in illiterate and intermediate and scheduled caste families.

The Committee appointed in 1945 in England, to study the neglected child and his family observed that poverty, size of the family, bad housing conditions, ignorance of child care were some of the main causes of child neglect.⁵ And from this point of view the author will try to see whether the wide gulf found in the family environment of different sample families had effect on upbringing of children in them.

5. The Neglected Child and His Family: A Study made in 1946-47, Oxford University Press, 1948, pp. 54-64.

CARE OF EXPECTANT AND NURSING WOMEN

In the present chapter, an attempt will be made to find out how much care was taken of women during pregnancy and after delivery. Questions were asked about ante-natal and post-natal care taken of pregnant women. Information was gathered whether women were aware of the modern concepts of taking proper care of health during pregnancy and confinement, whether they tried to bring these ideas into practice and whether special food and necessary medical help were available to them.

During the pregnancy, a woman is expected to take care of her health, eat nutritive food and take the necessary medicines. It is a common belief and also medical opinion that if the mother has good health during pregnancy, the child will also have good health; while if the mother keeps ill-health, the child will have low resistance to infections throughout its life. It is also advised that a pregnant woman should not feel irritated; otherwise the child will have an irritable temper. Similar ideas are found among other communities in India, as will be evident from the passage in the book "Twice Born" which is the study of three castes in the State of Rajasthan.¹

1. "It is a child's mother who plays the greatest part in determining what he will be like. Her influence is at work throughout the period of gestation, when she should take rich food and indulge in rhythmical exercise such as churning butter and grinding corn in order to mak,

State of Health during Pregnancy

The following information was gathered from the answers given by the women about their health during pregnancy. Its truth was not checked through medical enquiries. Women in 495 (70.7%) families kept good health during pregnancy, 114 (16.3%) women did not keep good health, but they did not suffer from any major illness, while 70 (10%) women suffered from illnesses like nightblindness, swelling of hands and feet, etc. Of these, 50 women complained of weakness; 4 women of nightblindness (this illness was automatically cured after their delivery); 7 women complained of swelling of hands and feet; 4 women complained of fever and 5 women of backache.

The majority of women from all caste groups kept good health during pregnancy. The women who did not keep good health or had mediocre health belonged in a greater proportion to intermediate and scheduled castes respectively. Likewise the highest proportion of women from all occupations had good health during pregnancy; but those, who did not keep good health during pregnancy, mainly belonged to the lower occupational categories.

Nearly half of the respondents had no knowledge about modern scientific methods of taking care of health during pregnancy. As noted in Chapter 1, 228 respondents were illiterate and 112 respondents were educated upto the 4th standard in primary schools; and hence they had no knowledge about the modern concepts of hygiene. The Poona Municipal Corporation had opened welfare clinics for the guidance and help of uneducated and poorer women in this respect. These centres were located in poorer quarters of the city and were looked after by a lady doctor and a health visitor. The health visitor visited pregnant women in the area and guided them in taking proper care of health during pregnancy. Medicines were supplied to the needy women and children; and powdered milk, donated to these centres by Red Cross or UNICEF, was

him strong.... If the mother gives way to bad temper while she is pregnant," said Chandmal, "her child will be bad-tempered too." *The Twice Born*, G. Morris Carstairs, The Hogarth Press, London, 1957, p. 63.

supplied, free of charge, to the children who attended these clinics.

The interviews with the lady doctor and the health visitor at one of these welfare centres and at one municipal dispensary and a scrutiny of the attendance register revealed that these clinics were not fully utilised by the women for whom they were meant. These women did not visit the clinics for a fortnightly or monthly checking up of their health, but visited them only when they suffered from some illness and were in need of the medical help. The figures of the attendance at these clinics, given in the Administration Reports of the Poona Municipal Corporation, are helpful to have some idea about the average attendance at these centres. They do not, however, give any comparison between the women and children who were in need of medical help and those who availed medical help in these clinics. It was not possible for the author to collect such figures.

Most of the women suffered from morning sickness during the early months of pregnancy. They suffered from nausea and giddiness in the morning. Some women vomited after taking morning tea or after their luncheon. Women reported a terrible aversion to certain foods and drinks and an equally great craving for certain other things, sometimes for such things which were not thought as eatables at all, e.g. earth, coal, etc. It was a belief that these cravings were the demands of a growing embryo and that some ill might befall if these cravings were not satisfied. Some women craved for the things which were not easily available e.g. they might crave for a fruit which was not available during that season. The husband and other family members took pains to satisfy these food whims of the pregnant woman.

A few examples of similarities of such practices in other countries will be cited below. It is reported that in Greece not only the family members but the society had obligations to satisfy the cravings of a pregnant woman. A pregnant woman "can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a 'smell'."² While describing the life of people in Samoa,

2. "The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been

Margaret Mead has referred to the practice of bringing 'gifts of food to the prospective mother'.³

Morning Sickness

Women suffered from morning sickness for about 3 to 4 months after the onset of pregnancy. Some women, however, suffered from morning sickness till the 7th month or even upto the 9th month of pregnancy. This was observed in a few cases only. The women who said that they suffered from morning sickness upto the 9th month of pregnancy, could not digest any item of their regular food and had to subsist on fruit juices, glucose injections, etc. A child in one of the sample families could not develop properly because his mother could not eat anything during the pregnancy. This respondent told the author that in his early years the boy used to vomit anything that he ate, and was always fussy about his food. He was five years old at the time of this interview, but he subsisted on milk and bread only. This particular family was very rich but it could not do much for the proper development of the child.

Nearly sixty-five per cent women in the sample did not suffer from morning sickness, 160 (22.9%) women suffered from morning sickness from the 3rd to the 5th month of pregnancy; while women in 77 (11%) families suffered from morning sickness upto the 7th or the 9th month of pregnancy. Thus, it was observed that a large proportion of women in the sample did not suffer from morning sickness. The largest percentage of women who did not suffer from morning sickness were found in scheduled caste families while those who had normal or severe trouble from morning sickness belonged to the advanced and intermediate castes.

pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advised him to move to another location. This case is unusual, but not far-fetched.'—*Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, ed. Margaret Mead, UNESCO, 1953, p. 97.

3. *Coming of Age in Samoa*, Margaret Mead, Jonathan Cape, London, 1929, p. 20.

Places of Delivery

It was a custom among Maharashtrians that the first delivery of a woman must take place at her parent's home. She was invited to her parent's home after the 5th or 7th month of pregnancy and lived with her parents till the 2nd or the 3rd month after delivery. This, however, depended on such things as the economic condition of the parents, the nearness or otherwise of the parent's home, the presence of a mother or some other elderly woman relative in the family, etc. Generally, if both the parents or at least one of them was alive, there was more possibility of a woman going to her parent's place for the delivery. It was observed that this custom was usually followed in advanced and intermediate caste families, which also belonged to higher occupations; while it was observed in breach in scheduled caste families which followed lower occupations. Later deliveries took place either at their parent's home or at their own place, depending on the convenience of both the families.

The deliveries took place at home if there were elderly women, who were experienced in conducting deliveries, in the family or in the neighbourhood. A 'Dai' (an untrained midwife who had experience of conducting deliveries) was usually called for to help in conducting the delivery which took place at home. She was also helpful in massaging and bathing the child and the mother for 10 days after delivery. She was further engaged to give an oil massage to the woman for 1 to 3 months after delivery. In case of emergency a trained nurse or a doctor was called for help. The tendency to go to the hospitals for deliveries was on an increase these days because of the shortage of space at home. It was observed in Chapter 2 that a large number of sample families lived in one or two room quarters. Formerly, in many families, there used to be a sick room in the house, which was used by women after delivery. With increase in population of the city after the Second World War and with an immense increase in the house rents, only very rich families could have spacious accommodations. It was also true that better medical help at the time of deliveries was possible in good maternity homes. Hence

more and more women took to hospitalisation at the time of their deliveries.

In 380 cases i.e. in more than half of the sample families either the first or at least one of the delivery of women in the sample took place at their parent's home. Of these, in 180 cases only the first delivery took place at parent's home while the rest of the deliveries took place at their own place. In 99 cases all the deliveries took place at parent's place, either at home or in hospitals. In 320 cases all the deliveries took place at their own home. Of these, in 216 cases, all the deliveries took place in hospitals; in 49 cases all the deliveries took place at home while in 55 cases some deliveries took place at home and some in hospitals.

The majority of the respondents from advanced and intermediate castes had at least one delivery at their parent's place whereas only a small number of scheduled caste women had their deliveries at parent's place. A majority of the scheduled caste women had their deliveries at their own place. The women who had their deliveries at parent's home belonged to the families following higher occupation, while those who had deliveries at their own place were from the families which belonged to lower occupational categories. Thus, women in scheduled caste families were not invited by parents for deliveries nor were they able to spend on visiting their parent's home, if they lived outside Poona. Many of them had parents who were too poor to spend on the deliveries of their daughters.

An inquiry was made whether the women had safe and normal deliveries or whether there were any complications. The replies given by the respondents revealed that the majority of women in the sample had safe deliveries. Only some of them suffered from prolonged labour or had forceps delivery or had to undergo a Caesarian section. The percentage of women who had safe deliveries was higher in intermediate and scheduled caste families. More cases of prolonged labour, forceps deliveries and Caesarian section were noted in advanced caste families.

Period of Pollution

It was a tradition among Brahmins (the caste of the author) to keep a woman and her child in pollution for ten days after

delivery. No one, except a 'Dai' or an elderly woman who attended her was allowed to touch her during the first ten days after delivery. The woman was not expected to attend to the household duties for $1\frac{1}{2}$ month after delivery.⁴ This concept of pollution had its origin in religious beliefs but it helped women to take complete rest from household duties for 10 to 15 days or for a month after delivery. The tradition that the mother, a *lecho*, should stay in bed for 40 days (i.e. observe lochial period for 40 days) is found in other countries like Greece, New Mexico, etc. In Burma this period lasts for five to eight days. In U.S.A. some years back, women having children were expected to take rest in bed for about six weeks, but now they observe four days' rest.⁵ Even though this time-limit of pollution is not strictly adhered to these days, it means that a good deal of care is taken of both mother and child by the other family members.

The tradition of observing pollution was fast vanishing, particularly in educated families. But the families in which the older members insisted on observing this tradition continued to observe a period of pollution for the first ten days after delivery. The women could easily take rest for the first ten days, if the deliveries took place in the hospitals. It was difficult for women in single (nuclear) families to take more rest, unless some other women relatives could come to help the family during this period.

Period of Rest after Delivery

One hundred and sixteen (16.5%) women in sample families could take rest for 10 to 15 days after delivery; 95 (13.5%) women, for 10 days to one month; 239 (34.1%) women, for 1 to 2 months; and women in 24 (3.4%) families could take rest for more than 3 months. In 21 (3%) cases, women could take

4. It is a custom among Maharashtrians that a woman and her new born child should first visit the temple of goddess 'Jogeswari' before going to any other place. Usually women visit Jogeswari temple after $1\frac{1}{2}$ month to 3 months after delivery, depending on their conveniences. After the visit to Jogeswari temple, women can be free to undertake journey or to do their household work.

5. *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, ed. by Margaret Mead, UNESCO, 1953, pp. 97, 172.

rest for a longer period i.e. for 2 to 3 months after first few deliveries but for a lesser period after their subsequent deliveries. The help from their relatives was possible during the earlier deliveries, but not afterwards. In 18 (2.5%) cases, women took rest for about a month or so after their first few deliveries but could take rest for only a short period i.e. for about 10-15 days after later deliveries.

The majority of women from advanced caste families could take rest for 2 to 3 or more than 3 months after delivery, whereas those from intermediate castes could rest for 1 to 2 months. A large proportion of women from scheduled caste families could rest for 10 days to a month after delivery. Women from poorer families could take rest for a shorter period after delivery, whereas those from higher occupational categories could take rest for a longer period.

During the confinement women were expected to observe some restrictions, e.g. they were expected to use hot water for drinking, bathing, etc. and after about 2-3 months they could gradually use cold water. They were expected to take complete rest in bed and not to move about or to go out of the house for a month or so. Elderly women who were brought up in this tradition observed these rules themselves and compelled their daughters and daughters-in-law to observe them.

Special Diet after Delivery

In addition to this there were restrictions on the items of food women should eat for 2-3 months after delivery. During the first month after delivery, women could eat rice with ghee or milk and pickles, etc. Gradually they began to take bread, vegetables, curry, etc. and by about the 3rd month they could take their usual food. The usual diet of poorer women consisted of Jowar bread, 'dal' curry, etc. and some of these women took rice, ghee, milk, etc. as a special diet during the confinement.

Special food preparations which were supposed to recoup their health were taken by Maharashtrian women after delivery. These were the sweets prepared with the use of gum arabicum, poppy seeds, cress seeds, ginger, etc. These preparations were recommended to be taken during the specific period after

delivery i.e. some of these were taken during the first ten days after delivery, some during the next ten days and so on.

Usually the relatives were more careful to give all these preparations after the first few deliveries, a little less careful after the later deliveries. This also depended very much on the economic conditions of the family as well as the presence of an elderly woman relative who could prepare these sweets, because these were quite elaborate and time-consuming preparations. Those women who could take non-vegetarian food used to take meat and fish preparations during confinement. A number of educated young women expressed that they did not like to eat these traditional sweet preparations but had to take them on insistence of elderly relatives in their families.

One hundred and fourteen (16.3%) women did not take any special food preparations after delivery; 138 (19.7%) women took milk, ghee, and dry fruits; 357 (51%) women took sweet preparations of gum arabicum, cress seeds, poppy seeds, ginger, etc. for some days after their deliveries; while 49 (7%) women had all these preparations and in addition took porridge of poppy seeds, almonds, etc. for 2-3 months after delivery. About 4 per cent women took non-vegetarian food to recoup their health. Only 3 women stated that they did not like to eat or could not digest any of these items of special diet.

Nearly forty-eight per cent scheduled caste women did not take special diet, but 56 (49.1%) women amongst these families could have a special diet of rice, milk, ghee, dry fruits, etc. Only 4 (3.5%) women could take non-vegetarian preparations after their deliveries. The majority of advanced caste women took these traditional sweet preparations to recoup their health after deliveries. The proportion of women from intermediate caste families taking special diet was lesser than that in advanced caste families but was higher than that in scheduled caste families.

Women from poorer families could not take special diet after their deliveries; a small proportion of them could take a better diet than their usual diet and 18 (11.25%) women from families of unskilled labourers took non-vegetarian food after delivery. Women from occupational categories 3 to 8 took various items of special diet mentioned earlier for one to three

months after delivery. Thus, this tradition of taking special food after delivery was more carefully observed in advanced caste and middle and rich class families.

Medicines taken after Delivery

As stated earlier the majority of women in sample families kept good health and had normal deliveries. These women did not necessarily require medical help after delivery. But those who had weak health and had some trouble at the time of delivery were in need of a medical treatment. The roots or barks or twigs of certain trees had been prescribed as treatment for certain diseases. These herbal medicines were used in olden days when allopathic medicines were not available in the country. These days, however, women from older generations believed in the use of indigenous medicines, whereas younger women preferred allopathic medical treatment.

There were some patent medicines advertised to be taken after delivery. A tonic called 'Balant Kadha'⁶ was popular amongst many women. The other tonics containing iron, calcium, etc. were also available in the market. Some of the women took treatment from local medical practitioners if they did not keep good health; while poorer women took free medical treatment from government or municipal dispensaries.

The majority of women in the sample did not require any medical help. Forty (5.7%) women used to take traditional herbal medicines for recouping their health. Women in 171 (24.4%) families took patent medicines after all their deliveries; while those in 7 (1%) families took patent medicines after some of their deliveries. Only one per cent women always took treatment from medical practitioners while 36 (5.1%) women had medical treatment, whenever it was necessary. Forty-eight (6.9%) women took free medical treatment in government dispensaries.

A large proportion of women from all caste groups were not required to take any medicines after delivery, this percentage being the highest in scheduled caste families. The percent-

6. A caudle for puerperal women.

age of women who took herbal medicines, patent medicines and a treatment at local clinics was higher in advanced caste families, next to them were women from intermediate caste families. The proportion of women who took medical treatment in government or municipal dispensaries was larger in scheduled caste families.

Oil Massage

It was customary for women to take oil massage before their bath in the morning or in the evening for about a month or two to three months after delivery. Coconut oil and turmeric powder were applied to the body and the massage was carried on by 'Dais' or by an elderly woman in the family. The massage, followed by hot water bath, helped to tone up the sagging muscles. After bath women used to fumigate themselves. After taking hot water bath, women lay on wooden cots; live coals were kept in a pot under the cot and dry blades of garlic and onion and seeds of the Dill kind (*Ligusticum*) were thrown over coals and women fumigated themselves and their children in this smoke.

Oil massage was taken by women for about 10-15 days to 1½ month after delivery, but those who could afford continued having oil massage for 2 to 3 months and took massage in the morning as well as in the evening. The duration of oil massage varied according to the economic conditions of the family, if a Dai was engaged for the purpose; but even poor or middle class women could have massage for longer period, if it was done by one of the family members. This practice was religiously followed by elderly respondents whereas some younger women expressed that they did not like to get their bodies smeared with a mixture of coconut oil and turmeric powder, but were required to tolerate it under pressure of elderly women members in their families.

Women in 222 (31.7%) families did not have oil massage after delivery. Respondents in 34 (4.9%) families had oil massage for 10-15 days; those in 169 (24.1%) families had oil massage till 1½ month after delivery; while 262 (37.4%) women had oil massage till 2½ to 3 months after delivery. Women in 3 families had oil massage for 1½ month after the first delivery

but for a lesser number of days after the later deliveries. In 3 other cases women had oil massage for $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 months after the first delivery but for lesser number of days after the later deliveries.

A large proportion of women who did not have oil massage or those who had oil massage for 10-15 days only, belonged to scheduled and intermediate castes, whereas those who had oil massage for $1\frac{1}{2}$ month to 2 or 3 months belonged in a larger number to advanced castes. Those women who did not take oil massage or had oil massage for a lesser number of days also belonged to poorer families; while women from middle and rich classes could take oil massage for one to three months after delivery. This tradition was prominently found among advanced caste and middle and rich class families, because they had leisure and money to spend for this purpose.

From the discussion in previous pages it was evident that the traditional pattern of taking care of expectant and nursing mothers had changed in certain respects but the important features of the old pattern continued to prevail in many families. The delivery at home with the help of an untrained Dai had given place to deliveries at well-equipped maternity homes. The use of allopathic medicines was on an increase but the traditional items of special diet to be taken after delivery were still taken by those who could afford to take them. There was no aversion among women against taking this diet.

It was thus observed that the majority of women in sample families kept good health during pregnancy and had safe deliveries. Women from advanced caste families which also belonged to higher occupational categories received proper medical help during pregnancy and also after deliveries. They could take rest for a longer period, could have special nutritive diet to recoup their health, could have oil massage, etc. Many of these families took care of women during pregnancy and after delivery in a traditional manner while those which were conversant with the Western practices tried to implement them to the extent possible. These families tried to improve upon old pattern but still continued to observe the important features of the traditional practices.

The intermediate caste families followed the pattern described earlier, but a lesser number of these families could do so while very few scheduled caste families which also belonged to lower occupations could take proper care of women during pregnancy and after delivery. Special diet, rest after delivery, oil massage and necessary medical help were not available to these women, mostly because of poverty but free medical help and advice on proper care during pregnancy given free in the government and municipal clinics was also not availed of by them. The advice given by health visitors or doctors was not heeded to, as the majority of these women were illiterate or only slightly educated and were not able to appreciate the importance of learning scientific methods of taking care of health during pregnancy and after delivery. The spread of education among these families as well as more intensive propaganda on the subject of the importance and proper methods of taking care of health during pregnancy by the health department and also by the voluntary associations engaged in welfare work for mothers and children would help these and such like families.

RELIGIOUS AND TRADITIONAL RITES

In this chapter the author would deal with the religious and traditional rites performed on a child till its tenth year and also with the festivities like the pregnancy feasts celebrated for a pregnant woman. There were questions to find out whether the sample families observed and performed traditional festivities such as "Dohal Jevan" and religious rites such as Garbhadhana etc. during pregnancy and Namakarana, Niskramana, Annaprasana, Caula etc. after the birth of a child upto its tenth year.

The religious rites performed on a man were called Samskaras in the sacred books of Hindu religion.¹ The purpose of these rites had been explained in various ways by sages in olden days² but these were interpreted in a way suited to modern times by P. V. Kane. According to him Samskara like Upanayana served spiritual and cultural purposes, it brought unredeemed person into the company of elect, opened

1. "It (the word Samskara) generally means some purificatory act in a sacrifice... Sabara explains Samskara as that which being effected makes a certain thing or a person fit for a certain purpose."—*History of Dharmasastra*, P. V. Kane, Vol. II, Part 1, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, p. 190.
2. *History of Dharmasastra*, P. V. Kane, Vol. II, Part 1, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, pp. 191-192.

the door to the Vedic study and thus conferred special privileges and exacted duties. It had a psychological value of impressing on the mind of the person that he had assumed a new role and must strive to observe its rules.³ This interpretation was from a man who had Western education, who knew Sanskrit text well but was not an anthropologist.

Religious Rites prescribed

According to Hindu religious books a man had to undergo sixteen Samskaras from the conception to his death. In most of the religious books the principal Samskaras were said to be sixteen but there was some difference even about these sixteen Samskaras.⁴ The following were the names of Samskaras usually mentioned in the sacred books :

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) Garbhadhana | (8) Annaprasana |
| (2) Punsavana | (9) Caula |
| (3) Simantonnayana | (10) Upanayana |
| (4) Vishnubali | (11) to (14) Vedavrata
Catustaya |
| (5) Jatkarma | (15) Samavartana |
| (6) Namakarana | (16) Vivaha |
| (7) Niskramana | |

A few details about the significance of these Samskaras would be given below :

(1) Garbhadhana (placing of embryo) was performed on a married woman at the end of three days after menstruation first appeared. A sacrifice was performed with cooked food.

(2) Punsavana was a rite by performance of which a pregnant woman was supposed to give birth to a male child. This rite was performed in the third month of pregnancy. Sacrifice was performed and a pregnant woman was made to drink curds of a cow, with barley grains.

(3) Simantonnayana meant parting of the hair (of a woman) upwards. This rite was performed in the 4th month of pregnancy. Though the sacrifice was performed, this rite was mainly of social nature, intended to keep the pregnant woman cheerful and happy.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 193-194.

(4) Vishnubali was performed in the 8th month of pregnancy for easy delivery of a woman. This rite was performed at the time of every pregnancy.

The rites referred to before were performed during pregnancy. The rest of the Samskaras were performed after the birth of a child.

(5) Jatkarma was a rite in which one should offer a cake cooked on twelve potsherds to Vaisvanara, when a son was born.

(6) Namakarana was a ceremony of naming a child to be performed from the 1st day to the 10th day according to different books.

(7) Niskramana was the rite of taking a child out of the house in the open. Usually it was performed in the 4th month after birth.

(8) Annaprāsana meant making a child eat cooked food for the first time. This ceremony was performed in the 6th month after birth.

(9) Caula (pronounced as Chaula) was the ceremony of the first cutting of the hair on the child's head.

(10) Upanayana was one of the foremost of the Samskaras. It was considered to be the second birth of a boy. It was performed in the 8th year of a boy. Details about the remaining six Samskaras, not being relevant for the present study, are not given.

With the passage of time, these rites were not performed in the manner laid down by sacred books. Gradually the original significance of these rites was lost sight of and only the most important rites were performed while some fine was paid for the non-performance of minor rites.⁵

Religious Rites performed : Pregnancy Feasts

These days the only celebrations that took place during pregnancy were the feasts given by relatives of pregnant women to keep them cheerful and happy and to satisfy their longings

5. *History of Dharmasastra*, P. V. Kane, Vol. II, Part 1, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, pp. 199-200.

TABLE 4.1 Celebration of pregnancy feasts for the women in the sample families classified according to their castes

Celebrations of pregnancy feasts								
Caste groups	No custom	Not celebrated though this custom was to be followed in families	By husband's relatives	By parents and other relatives of women	By relatives of husbands and wives	By friends and relatives of husbands and wives	By friends	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Advanced	43 (13.2)	22 (6.75)	34 (10.4)	77 (23.62)	138 (42.33)	9 (2.76)	3 (0.92)	326
2. Intermediate	165 (67.9)	10 (4.11)	14 (5.76)	32 (13.2)	21 (8.64)	1 (0.41)	—	243
3. Scheduled	114 (100%)	—	—	—	—	—	—	114
4. Miscellaneous	15 (88.24)	—	1 (5.9)	—	1 (5.9)	—	—	17
Total	337	32	49	109	160	10	3	700

or desires.⁶ These feasts were termed 'Dohal Jevan' in local language. Pregnancy feasts were given from the beginning of the fifth month of pregnancy. The relatives of husband and wife as well as their friends and acquaintances celebrated these feasts. The relatives and friends were invited and special sweet dishes were prepared. The pregnant woman was presented a green saree, green bangles, etc. The grandeur of the celebrations depended on economic conditions as well as the enthusiasm of family members. Some families celebrated these feasts in the moonlight, in the parks nearby the city, in a boat on the river. Some families decked pregnant women with flower garlands round the neck, on the wrists and round the waists, etc. and took photographs of them. Every attempt was made to keep pregnant woman in a happy state of mind.

Not all the sample families celebrated these feasts. There was no such custom amongst some families, while in others there were no elderly women in the family to look after these celebrations. These feasts were not given if a pregnant woman was not keeping good health or if there was a recent death of a close relative. Some educated women did not like these celebrations; they resented this unnecessary show which might put strain on a pregnant woman, and upset her health by taking a number of sweet, spicy dishes on these days. But, of course, they participated in these feasts.

In all 337 (48.1%) families did not celebrate pregnancy feasts because there was no such custom in these families. Thirty-two (4.5%) families did not celebrate pregnancy feasts for various reasons mentioned in the earlier paragraph. In 49 (7%) families only the husband's relatives gave these feasts; in 109 (15.5%) families parents and other relatives of a pregnant woman gave the feasts while in 160 (22.9%) families the relatives of a husband and wife celebrated pregnancy feasts. In 10 families, in addition to the relatives of a husband and wife, the friends and acquaintances also invited a pregnant

6. These longings felt by a woman during pregnancy termed "Do-rhada" (two hearts) in Sanskrit, were explained as desires of a woman with two hearts (one was her own heart and the other one was of a child in her womb). The desires were supposed to be the demands of a child growing in her womb.

woman for such feasts.

All the scheduled caste families and a majority of intermediate caste families did not celebrate pregnancy feasts but a majority of advanced caste families celebrated pregnancy feasts. This custom was not observed in poorer families, but was observed by a majority of families from the higher occupational categories.

It was found that a woman's relatives gave more such feasts in her honour than the husband's relatives. This seemed to be due to the fact that a good number of pregnant women went to their parent's house for their first deliveries and these feasts were given during the first pregnancy.

Sasthipuja

On the 6th day after the birth of a child a ceremony called 'Sasthipuja' was performed to propitiate goddess 'Sasthi' in order to ward off evil spirits.⁷ This ceremony was performed in the following manner. On this day, the images of two goddesses (Sasthidevi and Durga) were drawn on handful of rice or wheat or on a wall and they were worshipped. A pen, an ink, a pen-knife and a blank sheet of paper were kept near the images of the goddesses. It was believed that these goddesses would visit the house and write the future of the child on the paper kept there. A feast was given to the priests on this day. The interviews revealed that this ritual was performed by most of the families and was known to scheduled caste families also but as through oversight a definite question was not put, it would not be possible to give the definite proportion of families who did or who did not observe this rite.

Namakarana

The next ceremony was the naming ceremony of a child performed on the 12th day of its birth. This ceremony was not performed or was postponed only if the health of a mother or a child was not good or if there was any other difficulty in the family. The naming ceremony was usually performed

7. *History of Dharmasastra*, P. V. Kane, Vol. II, Part 1, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, p. 237.

in the evening, but before that a ceremony called 'Karnavedha' or piercing of ear lobes took place. This custom was followed in all the castes.⁸ A goldsmith was called and he pierced the ear lobes with a golden wire or with black thread.

No Vedic ceremony as prescribed in the sutras was performed at the time of performing the naming ceremony. A feast was given to the relatives and friends. After consulting all family members the name of the child was announced and the child was placed in the cradle. New clothes and ornaments⁹ were presented to the new born baby and its mother by their relatives, at least at the naming ceremony of the first child. This depended on the economic conditions of the family but usually people spent rather liberally at the Namakarana ceremony of the first child, particularly, if it was a boy.

The 'Namakarana' ceremony started when all the invitees were assembled. Two married women stood on either side of the cradle; one of them took the child in her hands and passed it from above and below the cradle to the other woman for five times and then she put the child in the cradle. They then announced the name of the child in its ears. A lullaby was sung and sweets were distributed to the invitees. The invitees in turn presented articles like clothes, ornaments, utensils, toys, etc. to the baby and the mother. It was customary to present a bonnet and a frock for the baby and the cloth, saree, etc. for its mother. These days the utility of the articles to be presented was taken into consideration. A collection of tiny frocks and bonnets was of no use to the growing child. Hence useful articles like utensils, toys, books on child care, etc. were presented to the mother and the child.

The naming ceremony of girls was not celebrated in some families but the naming ceremony of boys was performed with

8. *History of Dharmasastra*, P. V. Kane, Vol. II, Part 1, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, p. 255.

9. The gift of new clothes, ornaments etc. presented to a woman and her child by the relatives was termed "Balant Vida" in local language. It was customary for husband's and wife's parents or relatives to present various articles of baby clothing, sarees, ornaments etc. to the woman and her child on the 12th day after her delivery i.e. at the time of naming ceremony.

pomp and grandeur. From the very ancient times the birth of a female child was frowned upon in India whereas the birth of a male child was rejoiced at. A son was the hope of a family, but a daughter belonged to another family. This ancient belief had its roots in the minds of some people even in modern times. A few respondents stated that they did not perform the naming ceremony of their children because it brought ill-luck to the family. Some children in these families died soon after their naming ceremony; hence this custom was discontinued.

As stated earlier, the naming ceremony of the first born child was usually performed with enthusiasm and grandeur. This, of course, depended on the economic conditions of the families, but even poorer families spent a lot on this ceremony. Usually, poorer families invited some 5 to 10 women relatives and neighbours for this ceremony. The name of the child was announced and sugar or some other sweets and soaked horse gram were given to the invitees. Muslim and Christian families performed the naming ceremony $1\frac{1}{2}$ month after the birth of their children according to their respective customs.

About 10 per cent families in the sample did not perform the naming ceremony of their children for various reasons such as a death in the family or because the health of the mother and child was not good or because they were very poor, while 6 families performed the naming ceremony of their sons but not of their daughters. Only one per cent families did not perform this ceremony as it was inauspicious for the family; 123 (17.5%) families celebrated the naming ceremony of their children in a simple manner and as a family function. Four hundred and twenty-nine (61.3%) families performed the naming ceremony in a homely manner; 33 (4.7%) families spent lavishly on these celebrations of their first born children; while only 8 (1.1%) sample families performed the naming ceremony of all their children in a grand manner.

The majority of families which did not perform the naming ceremony or performed it in a simple way belonged to scheduled castes and, to a certain extent, to intermediate castes. The largest percentage of advanced and intermediate caste families performed the naming ceremony in a homely way,

while the families which performed this ceremony in a grand manner belonged to advanced castes.

The majority of families from occupational categories 1, 2 and 9 either did not perform the naming ceremony of their children or performed it in a simple manner. The large proportion of the families from the remaining categories celebrated Namakarana in a homely manner, whereas some rich families performed this ceremony in a grand manner.

Choice of Children's Names

"What is there in the name?" queried the great poet Shakespeare. Women, however, did not pay much attention to this philosophy. They began to think about choosing the names for the children long before their birth. They consulted their friends, relatives and then decided upon a certain name which was agreed upon by everybody in the family. In Maharashtra (and everywhere in India) children were named after the names of flowers, e.g. Kamal (lotus), Suman (flower), Nalini (lotus), Gulab (rose). The names of the rivers in India such as Ganga, Jamuna, Kaveri; the names of the god in the Hindu pantheon such as Rama, Krishna, Shankar, Vishnu and the names of historical persons like Shivaji, Sambhaji, Bajirao were also favourites. However, these days, the names of cine actors and actresses were more favourite among the people.

Unlike the Westerners who gave 3 to 4 names to one child, among the Hindus only one or at the most two names were given to a child. Hence quite often there was a conflict regarding the choice of a name for a child among members of the old and young generation in the family. The members of old generation liked to name a child after the god or an ancestor or some historical person, while the members of younger generation liked to choose the attractive names of cine actors. This conflict, in some cases, was brought to a compromise by giving two names to a child, chosen by two groups in the family. If the older people were considerate, they allowed the name given by the younger generation to continue for official purposes while they were satisfied with the idea that their wish to give the child a name of their

choice was fulfilled.

Some families still consulted the horoscope of a child while choosing a name for it. According to Indian astrological concepts, the name of a child born under specific constellation should begin with specific consonants or vowels. An instance quoted in the footnote¹⁰ would reveal the place of horoscope consultation in choosing the name for a child. The names of children were chosen as per wishes of wife or husband or both of them. In some cases the name was chosen by husband's family members or by wife's family members or by both the families in consultation with each other. In majority of cases, it was noticed that the suggestions from all family members were invited and considered in selecting a name for new born child.

The names of film actresses such as Vijaylaxmi, Meenakumari, Madhubala, Usha Kiron for girls and of film actors like Dilip Kumar, Ashok Kumar, Pradeep Kumar for boys were favourites with educated as well as uneducated families coming from all caste groups. But the names of gods were favoured more in illiterate or slightly educated families which also belonged to intermediate and scheduled castes. The educated families belonging to advanced castes also followed this practice but in majority of cases it was on insistence from elderly members in their families.

Thirty-eight (5.4%) families consulted the horoscopes while choosing the names for their children. In 40 (5.7%) families the names were chosen by wives; in 120 (17.1%) families by husbands; and in 85 (12.1%) cases both husband and wife selected the names for their children. In 94 (13.4%) cases, the members of husbands' families and in 30 (4.3%) cases, the parents and other members of wives' families approved the names for

10. The servant working in the family of centenarian Karve got a son in the year when Dr. Karve completed his 100th year. This servant had a consultation about the choice of a name for his son. It was suggested that the child be named Dhondopant, the name of Dr. Karve, with the idea that the child might have a long life like Dr. Karve. The servant gladly agreed to this proposal. However, he consulted the astrologer, who told him to choose a name beginning with consonant 'L' for his child. So he named his child as Laxman, though he would have liked to name it as Dhondopant.

children. In 282 (40.3%) families suggestions from all family members were taken into consideration while choosing the names of children.

In majority of families from all caste groups the name for the child was chosen by all family members in consultation with each other. But the proportion of such families was higher in scheduled and intermediate castes. More families from intermediate and scheduled castes consulted the horoscopes of children before selecting their names. In advanced caste families the names of children were selected by wife or by husband and wife or by their relatives.

Illiterate and slightly educated families consulted the horoscopes of children before selecting their names, though the educated families were not exceptions as would be evident from four cases each in grades V and VII in which husbands were educated upto matriculation or graduation and of cases in grade VIII in which wife and husband were matriculates or graduates. The proportion of families in which husbands selected the names of children varied slightly in different educational grades which indicated that the names approved by husbands were accepted by others in families. The choice of names of children by wives was honoured in a greater number of highly educated families; while the families in which the names of children were selected by husband and wife or by the members of the families of husband and wife were in higher proportion in educational grades in which either the husband or both husband and wife were highly educated. It was noted that the highest percentage of families from all educational grades consulted all members in the family while choosing the names for children, but this proportion was higher amongst illiterate and slightly educated families.

Niskramana

The rite of Niskramana (going out) represented the first going out of the house of a child. The description of this rite, as it was performed in olden times, is given in the footnote.¹¹

11. "This was done according to most authorities in the 4th month after birth... The Manava Grhya prescribes that the father cooks a mess of

In modern times also a new born child was not taken out of the house for at least 1 month. After that it was first taken out of the house for a visit to the temple of a goddess, particularly, to Jogeswari temple in the city. Even if the delivery took place in a maternity home, the child was first taken to visit Jogeswari temple, once it was brought home from the hospital and then the child could be taken for visits to the houses of relatives and friends. No feast for Brahmans, as was prescribed in religious books, was arranged. No question was asked about this practice but conversation with the respondents revealed that a number of families among advanced and intermediate castes did take out the child to the nearest temple of a goddess on its first going out.

Annappasana

The rite next in order was Annappasana or making a child eat cooked food for the first time. A passage describing this rite as it was performed in old days is quoted in the footnote.¹² This rite was performed when a child was 9 to 12 months old. Upto this period a child was fed entirely on milk. Some educated families being influenced by the Western ideology of child rearing, introduced fruits, porridge, etc. in the diet of their children between the 4th and the 6th month. Women from

food in milk and offers oblations thereof to the sun with the verse 'the brilliant sun has risen in the East (Mait. S. 4.14.4) ... and then he should present the child turning its face towards the sun with the verse 'salutation to thee oh divine (sun) who hast hundreds of rays and who dispellest darkness, remove misfortune of my lot and endow me with blessings, then the Brahmans are to be fed to and the fee is to be a bull.' *History of Dharmasastra*, P.V. Kane, Vol. II, Part 1, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, p. 255.

12. "Most Smritis prescribe the 6th month from birth as the time for this Samskara; but Manava Gr. says it may be 5th or 6th while Sankha quoted by Apararka says it should be performed at the end of a year or at the end of six months, according to some.... The procedure is very brief in all except San. and Par. San. says that the father should prepare food of goat's flesh, or flesh of partridge, or of fish or boiled rice, if he is desirous of nourishment, holy lustre, swiftness or splendour respectively and mix one of them with curds, honey and ghee and should give it to the child to eat with the reciting of the Mahavyahritis. (bhuh, bhuvah, svah)—*History of Dharmasastra*, P. V. Kane, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, p. 257.

poorer families fed their children on breast milk only and not being able to supplement children's diet with cow's or buffalo's milk, introduced them to solid food at an early age.

The rite of Annaprasana was fairly elaborate one in ancient times as is evident from the quotation in the footnote. In modern times this rite was celebrated purely as a social event in the family. The relatives and friends were invited for a feast. The maternal uncle and the child took food in the same dish. It was the maternal uncle who first fed the child. On this occasion the maternal uncle presented a silver dish, a tumbler, new clothes to the child. As stated about other rites described earlier, the rite of Annaprasana was also celebrated with pomp by richer families.

One hundred and eighty-eight sample families performed the rite of Annaprasana for their children. A majority of these families belonged to advanced castes, a small number of them were from intermediate castes, while none of them belonged to scheduled castes. Apparently, this Brahmanical rite was not performed by scheduled caste families as they were prohibited to do so.

Caula

Caula was the rite of the first hair cut of a child. It was usually performed between the age of 11 to 18 months of a child. A maternal uncle of the child played an important part in this ceremony also. He seated his nephew in his lap while a barber cut the hair on the child's head. Many educated families did not cut all hair on the child's head as was laid down by the custom. In such cases the maternal uncle cut a small lock of hair of the child with scissors, and afterwards a barber trimmed the hair. The richer families engaged a party of musicians to play on musical instruments while the hair of the child was being cut. Sweet dishes were prepared and a feast was given to the relatives and friends. In intermediate and scheduled castes, some families had a tradition to prepare sweet dishes while others were required to sacrifice a cock or a goat to the family deity and prepare non-vegetarian dishes for the invitees.

Caula ceremony was performed for only a male child in

TABLE 4.2 Caula ceremony performed for children in sample families classified according to their castes

Caste groups	Names of religious rites performed for children						Total
	No custom	No religious rites performed though there was a custom	Anna-prasana, Caula and Upanayana	Caula for boys and girls	Caula for boys	Anna-prasana rite performed for boys and girls	Children too young
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1. Advanced	30 (9.2)	29 (8.9)	148 (45.5)	2 (0.61)	74 (22.7)	20 (6.13)	23 (7.0)
2. Intermediate	70 (28.8)	12 (4.95)	17 (7.0)	87 (35.8)	50 (20.57)	3 (1.24)	4 (1.64)
3. Scheduled	55 (48.24)	3 (2.63)	—	47 (41.23)	9 (7.89)	—	—
4. Miscellaneous	10 (58.8)	—	—	3 (17.64)	1 (5.9)	—	3 (17.64)
Total	165	44	165	139	134	23	30
							700

advanced caste families while quite a few intermediate and scheduled caste families performed Caula ceremony for boys as well as for girls. This first hair (hair on a child's head at the time of birth) was considered as impure by these families; hence it was cut off. In Asvalayan Gr. Sutras it was stated that the first cutting of the hair was to be performed for girls also.¹³ However, no Vedic Mantras should be repeated during this ceremony. Manu also stated that all rites from Jatkarma to Caula must be performed at proper ages for girls also in order to purify their bodies but without Mantras.

Only two advanced caste families performed Caula ceremony for their daughters also. The heads of these two families were Sanskrit scholars and they wanted to revive the practices laid down in ancient religious books. These two families celebrated the thread ceremony also of their daughters. But these two cases were exceptions which proved the rule that Caula ceremony was not performed for girls in advanced caste families.

Four hundred and thirty-eight (62.5%) families in the sample celebrated Caula ceremony of their children. Of these, 139 (19.9%) families performed this ceremony for their sons as well as daughters; whereas 298 (42.5%) families celebrated this rite for their sons only. In the remaining families children were very young or there was no custom of celebrating these rites in these families or they did not celebrate this rite though this custom was to be observed in the families. The families which celebrated Caula rite for the boys only belonged in a larger proportion to the advanced castes while a larger percentage of intermediate and scheduled caste families celebrated Caula ceremony for boys as well as for girls. It was noted that Caula was the only rite performed by scheduled caste families in the sample. They did not perform any other religious rite for their children.

Upanayana

Upanayana or the ceremony of tying a sacred thread was the most important religious rite performed for the boys.

13. *History of Dharmasastra*, P. V. Kane, Vol. II, Part 1, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, p. 265.

Till the performance of this rite a boy could behave as he liked without incurring any blame but after Upanayana he was expected to behave according to the rules laid down for a twice born. Hence Upanayana was considered as the foremost of the rites (Samskaras).

Upanayana rite in olden days meant the beginning of instructions with a teacher. A child was taken away from home (from the mother) and was handed over to a teacher. A Brahmin was to undergo this rite at the age between 8 and 10 years, a Kshatriya between the age of 11 and 22 years, and a Vaishya between 12 and 24 years. The Sudras were excluded from this rite.

This rite is now, in most of the cases, merely a social ceremony, an opportunity to give feasts, take out processions, gift-giving and taking, etc. A few religious instructions are given and a fire sacrifice (homa) is performed. An impression was gathered from the conversation with some educated women that they saw no point in performing old religious rites which served no purpose (according to them) in modern times. But they did perform these rites for their children. Two families, not forming a part of the sample, both Western educated Brahmins, did not perform Upanayana ceremony for their boys; while two sample families (mentioned earlier), also highly educated, performed it for their girls also in order to revive the old rite.

One hundred and sixty-five (23.5%) families in the sample performed Upanayana for their boys. (This figure included two advanced caste families who performed Upanayana ceremony for their girls also). Of these, 148 (45.5%) families belonged to advanced castes, and 17 (7%) to intermediate castes. None of the scheduled caste family performed this ceremony.

Birthdays and Ashvini

Two more ceremonies about which information was collected were celebrations of birthdays of children and Ashvini. The birthdays were celebrated by giving a feast to the family members. Some families invited their relatives also while some

more enthusiastic families invited the friends of their children¹⁴ for the feasts. New clothes, toys, books, etc. were presented to the children on these occasions. Ashvini was celebrated in the month of Ashvin (the month of October according to English calendar) on the full moon day for the first child, be it a boy or a girl. The ceremony took place in the evening. The child sat on a piece of wooden board and all women members in the family performed Aukshan i.e. the rotating of a lamp round the face of a child three times after putting red *kumkum* (vermilion) powder and throwing a few rice grains on its head.

In the sample 44% of the families did not celebrate birthdays or Ashvini. The remaining families celebrated either both the ceremonies or only birthdays of children. Some families celebrated birthdays of their children for the first five years only. A few families did not celebrate birthdays or Ashvini of their children because such celebrations proved inauspicious and invariably had resulted either in illness or death of a child.

Twenty-five per cent families celebrated birthdays of all their children while 180 (25.7%) families celebrated birthdays as well as Ashvini. Two families celebrated birthdays and Ashvini for the first few years, whereas 11 (1.5%) families performed only birthdays of their children for the first few years.

The majority of advanced caste families celebrated birthdays and Ashvini or only birthdays of their children. Almost cent per cent scheduled caste families and 169 (69.5%) intermediate caste families did not celebrate either birthdays or Ashvini of their children. Poverty was one of the reasons why these families did not celebrate birthdays etc. In addition, quite a few of these families were illiterate or only slightly educated and women in some of these families told that they did not remember birth dates of their children.

In brief, it was observed that the majority of advanced caste sample families celebrated religious rites like Nama-

14. Celebrations of birthdays in the Western way was not known formerly, but is now coming into fashion in some families.

karana, Annaprāsana, Caula, Upanayana and also festivities like pregnancy feasts, birthdays and Ashvini. The intermediate caste families also celebrated Caula and Upanayana rites. Many of the traditional rites and celebrations were, however, not performed by the scheduled castes. This might be due to various reasons like poverty, intense contact with missionaries and change of religion (to Buddhism); but it might also be due to the fact that the rites of the higher caste Hindus had not reached these castes at all. A careful study through interviewing people belonging to older generations might cast light on the non-observance of religious rites for these families, but now (in 1961) when the scheduled castes have taken up Buddhism such an enquiry seems almost impossible.

FOOD AND HEALTH

In this chapter, the author will deal with the food habits, the habits of bodily cleanliness inculcated among children, the illnesses that affected children and the medical treatment that was made available to them, etc.

Duration of Breast Feeding

It was observed that the infants were breast fed in the primitive as well as in the highly civilised countries.¹ Children in simple families were also normally fed on breast milk upto the end of the first year, in some cases upto the end of the second year and in rare cases, upto the fifth year also. The period of breast feeding was shorter among advanced castes, educated and upper class families who were able to supplement or replace breast milk with the cow's or buffalo's milk or with tinned baby milk powder. On the contrary, children in poor, illiterate families which belonged to scheduled and intermediate castes, were fed on breast milk for two to three years, mainly because they were not able to spend money on cow's or buffalo's milk.

A few women in the sample reported that they could not feed their children on breast milk because the breast milk fell

1. (a) *Infant and Child in the Culture of To-day*, A. Gesel and F. ILG, Hamish Hamilton, Ltd., London, 1943, p. 86.

(b) *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, ed. Margaret Mead, UNESCO, Paris, 1953, pp. 60, 126 and 230.

short. The majority of women breast fed the children till the first or the second year after the birth. Children in 75 (10.7%) families were given breast milk till the completion of third year and those in 19 (2.7%) families were breast fed for more than three years. Forty-four (6.3%) women told that they fed their children on breast milk till their next pregnancy or delivery. This period varied between two to four years. The ages of children who were breast fed till the date of interview, varied between one month to one and half year and did not exceed the average age limit of breast feeding.

The largest percentage of women from advanced caste families fed their children on breast milk till about twelve months while those from intermediate and scheduled caste families breast fed their children till the second year. Women who did not wean their children till the next pregnancy or delivery were mainly from scheduled and intermediate castes. The educated women fed their children on breast milk till about the first year while illiterate and slightly educated women (who had primary school education) continued to feed their children on breast milk till completion of the second year.

Age at Weaning

A question was asked whether women tried to wean their children from breast milk or children were automatically weaned when they began to take solid food. Some women did not try to wean their children as was evident from 44 cases mentioned in the earlier paragraph, in which cases the next pregnancy or delivery of women put a check on the breast feeding of older children. The majority of women in sample families tried to wean the children between the first and the second year; and in quite a few cases, after the second year. In some cases, children were weaned before the 3rd month. This usually happened if the breast milk fell short. Some children could not be weaned easily. Women in these families reported that they used to smear the nipples with some bitter stuff such as quinine if the children could not be weaned easily.

It was observed that the attitude towards weaning was not uniform in different cultures. In some countries weaning was not a forced process, e.g. in Burma, the breast feeding con-

tinued for an indefinite period²; in Greece, it was a gradual process³ while in some cultures attempts were made to wean children at an early age. It was rather difficult, even for doctors, to prescribe a uniform time limit for all children. It has been advised by A. Gessel that weaning would not present any problem if it was adjusted to the child's immaturity.⁴

The maximum percentage of women tried to wean their children between the first and the second year. Women who tried to wean the children between the sixth and the twelfth month or after the second year were nearly equal in number. Only a small number of women weaned their children before the sixth month. It was observed that women in advanced caste families weaned their children between 6 to 12 months or between the first and the second year; but more women in intermediate and scheduled caste families weaned the children after the second year.

TABLE 5.1 Time schedule for feeding the children followed by women in the sample classified according to their education

Age of children at weaning time	No. of cases
1. Within 3 months	20 (2.86)
2. Between 3 to 6 months	26 (3.7)
3. Between 6 to 12 months	186 (26.57)
4. Between 1st and 2nd year	228 (32.57)
5. After 2nd year	185 (26.43)
6. Varied for different children	17 (2.43)
7. Not weaned till the day of interview	24 (3.43)
8. No information	14 (2.0)
Total	700

The majority of women in advanced castes and some women from intermediate castes had high school and college education

2. *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, ed. Margaret Mead, UNESCO, Paris, 1953, p. 61.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
4. *Infant and Child in the Culture of To-day*, A. Gessel and F. ILG, Hamish Hamilton, Ltd., London, 1943, p. 318.

and were influenced by the Western ideology of early weaning of children. (There might have been a change in this ideology in the Western countries). They had given up old practice of breast feeding children till the next pregnancy. But illiterate or slightly educated women did not begin to wean children till the second year or till the next pregnancy. Less educated women who had educated husbands had also attempted to wean their children at an early age. Moreover, these advanced caste and highly educated families belonged to higher occupational categories, and it was possible for them to feed the children on baby milk powder or to give them cow's or buffalo's milk. This was not possible for poorer families; hence women in these families did not try to wean their children at an early age.

Introduction of Cow's or Buffalo's Milk in the Diet

Generally women introduced cow's or buffalo's milk in the diet of the children from about 6th month. Some of them had to supplement children's diet with cow's or buffalo's milk at a still earlier age if the breast milk fell short. Cow's milk is considered as the best substitute for human milk. But cow's milk was not readily available in the city. Hence some families, who could afford the prices, fed the children on tinned baby milk (the number of such families was very small) while the majority of sample families supplemented the breast milk with buffalo's milk. Children in about one-third of sample families were not given any milk other than breast milk.

Children who were given tinned baby milk or cow's milk were from middle or rich class families, which also were highly educated. Children in poor and illiterate families were fed on breast milk for a longer period, and then they were introduced to solid food. The majority of middle and rich class families which were in medium and higher educational grades used to give buffalo's milk to their children.

The age at which children were introduced to milk other than breast milk varied in different families. Some families began to feed children on cow's or tinned milk from about the 10th day after the birth for want of sufficient quantity of breast milk. The majority of families began to feed children on

buffalo's or tinned milk between the 3rd and the 12th month and some of them between the first and the second year.

Advanced caste families introduced the other type of milk in the diet of their children at an early age i.e. between the 3rd and 12th month; whereas intermediate caste families began to feed their children on the other type of milk after the first year. Only a small percentage of scheduled caste families could give buffalo's milk to their children and that too was after the age of six months or so.

The majority of highly and medium educated families began to give cow's or buffalo's milk to their children between the 3rd and 12th month; and slightly educated families after the first year. Illiterate families did not give their children milk other than breast milk but only a small number of them gave buffalo's milk to their children after the first year.

Time Schedule of Feeding

Prior to the influence of the Western practices of child rearing, children were given feeding whenever mothers could spare time from other household chores or when children began to cry. The interval between the feeding might be three to four hours if the mothers were busy. Children might be given breast even after the interval of one hour if children began to cry or if they had got themselves hurt or if they were ill. Similar conditions were observed in other cultures also.⁵ It had been interpreted that suckling was not merely an ingestion of food but it was something more. It was "an aspect of continuity between mother and child."⁶ This interpretation could be more suitably applied to the situation as was obtained among illiterate or literate women in the sample. Scheduled feeding was one of the foreign thoughts, accepted and followed in recent years by educated women. Of course, the introduction

5. *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, ed. Margaret Mead, UNESCO, Paris, 1953, p. 230.

6. "Seen against this background, the reasons for urging scheduled feeding appear irrelevant, and the introduction of such feeding would necessitate as well the teaching of the mother to equate breast feeding with nutrition alone."

Ibid., p. 230.

of this foreign pattern was received with opposition by people of older generation.

Nearly 60 per cent women in sample families did not follow any time schedule in feeding their children. The majority of these women belonged to scheduled and intermediate castes. Women from advanced caste families observed regular interval in feeding their children. These women fed their children at the interval of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 hours. One hundred and eighty-four (56.4%) women from advanced castes followed the time schedule quite strictly whereas women in 41 (12.58%) families did not observe the time schedule too strictly.

It was observed that women from medium and highly educated families followed the time schedule in feeding the children; while the majority of illiterate and slightly educated women, not being convinced of this element in feeding, did not feed children at regular intervals. Of the educated women who did not follow time schedule, many women knew the advantage of having a time schedule in feeding children and wanted to practise it. They could not do so because of the opposition of elderly women relatives such as mothers-in-law or mothers who lived in the same house. Some had to put up a bitter fight to carry out "new fangled" ideas about child care.

Introduction to Solid Food

Children in sample families were given solid food after about 9 months, usually after completion of the first year. The details about the rite of Annaprasana (i.e. the rite of introducing children to solid food) are already given in Chapter 4. In the beginning children were given rice with 'dal' (cereals) and rice with milk. This was considered as the easily digestible food. Gradually they were given vegetables, 'chapati' (Indian bread) and the other varieties of food, and by about the 5th year, children began to eat food taken by the adults in the families.

It was noted that children in the majority of sample families began to take solid diet between the first and the second year. Children in 121 (17.3%) families were given solid food between 9 to 12 months; while 113 (16.1%) families introduced solid food in the diet of their children after the 2nd year.

Only a small number of families did not give solid food to their children till the 4th year. The majority of families from all caste groups introduced children to the solid food between the first and the second year.

In India people eat food with their fingers without using a fork or a knife or a spoon. Of course, the Westernised people do use forks and knives, but they form a small minority only. It requires some skill to manage eating with fingers; and it is particularly difficult for the little children. So in the beginning, mothers or older siblings feed the children, and gradually the children learn to eat their food by themselves.

Breakfast

The quantity of milk consumed by children was gradually reduced when they began to take proper diet. In some families, however, children continued to drink a cup of milk in the morning. Those families who could not afford to give milk, used to give tea to their children; while some other families used to give coffee, cocoa, ovaltine or quaker oats to their children in the morning. These women expressed that they would have liked their children to drink milk, at least a cup of milk in the morning; but they could not adjust it in the family budget. Women, in general, tried to give milk to their children as long as possible and afterwards substituted it by tea, coffee, or cocoa.

The majority of sample families could give tea to drink to their children in the morning. Children in 239 (34.1%) families used to drink milk while those in the remaining families were given coffee, cocoa or ovaltine. It was observed that the majority of scheduled and intermediate caste families could not afford to give milk to their children; hence they used to give tea to them. A large proportion of advanced caste families used to give milk to the children, while some of these families used to give coffee, cocoa, ovaltine or quaker oats to the children in the morning. Children in a small proportion of intermediate caste families and in a negligible number of scheduled caste families could drink milk in the morning.

Snacks during School Hours

The working hours of most of the schools in Poona are from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. Children usually take their food at 10 a.m. before going to schools. They, however, need some snack during the recess. Children who live nearby the schools, go home for some snack during the recess. Some children, particularly those children whose houses are far away from the schools, carry their snacks to the schools and eat the same during the recess. Some of the primary schools have two shifts to cope with the increasing number of students in these schools. In such cases, children who attend morning shift, go home for lunch after school hours while those who attend day shift come to schools after lunch. With a view to maintain proper discipline, the authorities in some schools in Poona do not allow the students to go home during the recess, but ask the students to bring tiffins to the schools. Some children buy refreshments from hawkers who sell fruits, ice-cream, etc. nearby their schools. Free snack or milk is not provided by any school. Neither does any school provide food on payment.⁷ In Municipal primary schools, toffee was given to some selected students who showed improvement in their general health.⁸

Children in the majority of sample families either took their snacks to the schools or went home during the recess for having snacks if their homes were not away from the schools. Children in only 9 (1.3%) families purchased sweets, etc. from hawkers nearby their schools. Children in 20 (2.8%) sample families did not eat anything during the recess, because their parents could not arrange for their tiffins.

Children from a larger proportion of advanced caste families took tiffins from home to their schools; while those in intermediate and scheduled caste families went home for

7. It will be a welcome introduction if the schools, in co-operation with the State government, can arrange for children's luncheon or snacks at schools for nominal charges (and free of charge for poor children). It is learnt that some such arrangement about mid-day meals for children will come into practice after some time.
8. Administration Report, Poona Municipal Corporation, 1956-57, p. 76.

snacks. Most of the children who did not have any snack during the recess or those who bought sweets and fruits, etc. near the schools belonged to intermediate and scheduled castes. Advanced caste families did not allow their children to spend on buying ice-cream, fruits or any other thing from hawkers. They feared that this would habituate children to buying snacks from shops, which was not considered as a good habit for children. Hence they insisted that children should take snack from home or should come home to have a snack of 'chapati' (an Indian bread) and vegetables. These women used to keep children's snack ready at their school hours. It was gathered from the conversation that women in intermediate and scheduled castes were aware that it was not good to form a habit of buying sweets from the market by their children. But they did not take care to keep children's snacks ready at school hours; and even if children came home during the recess, some of them used to give them a few coins and ask them to buy eatables from shops.

An enquiry about the eatables that were given to children in between their meals revealed that women in advanced caste families prepared sweets or salted snacks at home for their children and only fruits or bakery products were purchased from markets; while women in a majority of intermediate and scheduled caste families bought sweets from the market or handed a little money to the children to purchase biscuits, chocolates, etc. from the market.

It is considered proper to inculcate the habits of bodily cleanliness in children during the infancy and childhood. Children need to be trained in bladder and bowel control, in cleansing their teeth, in keeping their body clean by having a bath, etc. The following paragraphs will describe how the children in sample families were trained in taking care of their personal hygiene.

Cleansing the Teeth

In Maharashtra, people clean the teeth with their second finger (counting from thumb), using the thumb too some times. Educated women began to cleanse the teeth of their children soon after the eruption of their first two teeth, and

continued to cleanse the children's teeth till they were able to cleanse the teeth by themselves. Children in these families were not allowed to eat or drink without first cleansing their teeth in the morning. Uneducated women were not so careful to see that children had cleansed the teeth before they were given milk or tea in the morning.

Only about 6 per cent women used to cleanse the teeth of their children before completion of the first year; while 251 (35.85%) women cleansed their children's teeth between the first and the second year. Thirty-four per cent women began to cleanse the teeth of their children between the 2nd and the 3rd year; while 101 (14.4%) women cleansed the teeth of their children after completion of the third year.

A larger proportion of advanced caste women used to cleanse their children's teeth before completion of the first year or between the first and the second year. Women from intermediate and scheduled castes began to cleanse the teeth of their children between the 2nd and the 3rd year or even still later. These women gave their children a training in cleansing the teeth for a week or a fortnight; and then left the children to themselves to cleanse the teeth.

Women in educated families began to cleanse their children's teeth at an early age i.e. before completion of the first year or between the first and the second year; while a greater proportion of illiterate and slightly educated women began to cleanse the teeth of their children between the 2nd and the 3rd year or after the third year. Thus, illiterate and slightly educated women who belonged to scheduled and intermediate castes were not careful to begin cleansing their children's teeth in the morning from an early age.

After some months' practice, children learnt to cleanse the teeth independently. Usually children could cleanse their teeth independently after the third year. Some mothers stated that they cleansed the teeth of their children once in a week, for some period, even after children began to brush their teeth independently. Children in the majority of sample families began to brush their teeth independently between the 3rd and the 4th year or between the 4th and the 5th year; while some children could cleanse the teeth independently after the fifth

TABLE 5.2 Cleansing of children's teeth by women in the sample classified according to their education

Education of parents	Age of beginning cleansing children's teeth						Total
	Within 1st year	Between 1st and 2nd year	Between 2nd and 3rd year	After 3rd year	Did not cleanse teeth till the date of interview	Children were too young	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1. Both illiterate	1 (1.14)	6 (6.8)	28 (31.82)	31 (35.23)	1 (1.14)	21 (23.86)	88
2. Wife illiterate, husband upto 7th std. primary	2 (1.7)	15 (12.71)	53 (44.91)	32 (27.12)	2 (1.7)	14 (11.86)	118
3. Wife illiterate, husband upto matriculation, graduation or above	1 (4.55)	8 (36.36)	9 (40.9)	3 (13.63)	—	1 (4.55)	22
4. Wife 4th std. primary, husband upto 7th std. primary	1 (1.38)	21 (28.8)	29 (39.73)	11 (15.0)	1 (1.38)	10 (13.7)	73
5. Wife 4th std. primary, husband upto matriculation, graduation or above	4 (10.25)	11 (28.2)	20 (51.28)	2 (5.13)	—	2 (5.13)	39
6. Both upto 7th std. primary	2 (5.71)	8 (22.86)	12 (34.27)	10 (28.6)	—	3 (8.57)	35
7. Wife 7th std. primary, husband upto matriculation, graduation or above	7 (6.0)	61 (52.13)	36 (30.77)	6 (5.13)	1 (0.95)	6 (5.13)	117
8. Both upto matriculation, graduation or above	21 (10.1)	121 (58.18)	51 (24.52)	6 (2.88)	—	9 (4.32)	208
Total	39	251	238	101	5	66	700

year. Children in 125 (17.8%) families began to brush the teeth independently before completion of the third year.

A number of cleansing agents were used to cleanse the teeth of children in sample families. Children in some families used salt, those in some other families used 'Rakhundi' (the tooth powder made by burning cow-dung cakes and after adding salt, camphor, menthol crystals to it). Children in some families used burnt tobacco powder as the tooth powder; while those in other families used tooth powders or tooth pastes available in the market. A few families were noted in which children used coal powder or coal ash as the tooth powder.

Children in the majority of sample families used 'Rakhundi' i.e. the home made tooth powder. Next to them were the families in which children used tooth powder or the burnt tobacco powder. Children in only a small number of families used tooth paste to cleanse the teeth, because the tooth pastes were costlier than any of the cleansing agents mentioned before.

Children in only 37 (5.3%) families used the tooth brushes to cleanse the teeth; while those in the remaining families cleansed the teeth with their fingers. Only a few rich families could afford to have tooth brushes for their children. Children in other families did not use tooth brushes, though in some of these families the parents, particularly the fathers, used tooth brushes.

Bathing Habits

Daily bath is a necessity for people in this region, particularly during the summer. People usually take hot water bath, except those in poor families or those who are habituated to cold water bath. It was observed that children in the majority of sample families were given a daily bath; but children in 39 (5.5%) families used to have a bath on alternate days, while those in 15 (2.1%) families used to take bath every day or on alternate days, as was suitable to them.

The children who could not take a daily bath were from families who had no water-taps in their houses but had to bring water from public taps or had to share water-taps with a

large number of other tenants in the buildings. It was due to the scarcity of water that they could not have a daily bath.

It is a practice among Maharashtrian families to massage infants with a little turmeric powder mixed in cocoanut oil and then to give them a hot water bath. Gram flour added to the milk is applied as a cleansing agent to the children. Turmeric powder is supposed to have the quality of removing superfluous hair on the face and on the arms of infants and the milk and gram flour are supposed to keep the skin smooth, while the use of soap is supposed to chap the tender skin of infants. The use of turmeric powder and gram flour and milk was observed in the majority of advanced caste families, and in the few intermediate and scheduled caste families.

Women in 82 (11.7%) families did not use either the soap or milk and gram flour while bathing the infants. Women in 322 (46.0%) families used soap; and those in 296 (42.3%) families used gram flour and milk while bathing the infants till 6 to 12 months but used soap after about one year.

Gradually children were trained to take bath by themselves. The age of children when they began to bathe themselves independently varied between the 3rd and the 10th year. Children were bathed by elders for a longer period if they had spare time from other household duties. Children in some families used to have an independent bath at an early age because their mothers used to be very busy with the household duties, while in other cases the mothers thought that it was good for children to be independent at an early age.

Children in a larger number of sample families began to take bath independently between the 5th and the 6th year. In some cases, however, children used to have an independent bath at an early age i.e. between the 2nd and the 3rd year; while in some other cases children used to take an independent bath after the 8th or the 10th year.

The children who were left to themselves from an early age were from illiterate and scheduled caste families. Women in these families did not have time to spare from other household duties to bathe their children. The children who were shown an indulgence of being bathed by elders for a longer period, were from advanced castes and educated families. Women in these

families were more particular about the hygiene of children and believed that children would not be able to cleanse themselves thoroughly at such an early age.

The hair of girls in some of the sample families were bobbed and short. The majority of girls had long hair which needed a shampoo once in a week. It was a practice in sample families to wash the hair of girls with soap or soap-beans (*Mimosa abstersgens*) once in a week. School-going girls had a hair bath on every Sunday while small girls had a hair bath on every 4th day. Girls in some of the sample families had a hair bath once in a fortnight because their mothers were too busy to give them hair wash or because there was scarcity of water for bath, there being no water-taps in the house. Girls who were not given a regular hair wash, had the danger of having lice in the hair. In the majority of sample families, however, the girls were given hair wash once in a week to keep hair clean and free from lice.

Habit Training

Enquiries were made about the age of children when the mothers began to train them in bladder and bowel control. Some respondents stated that they tried to inculcate the habit of controlling excretory functions in their children from a very early age. They trained children to urinate and defaecate immediately after children got up in the morning and 'held' them for urination after every two hours or after every feed. This interval was increased as the children grew older. The 'habit-training' was attempted by educated women while illiterate women left the infants to train themselves naturally.

The attitude towards the toilet training of infants varies in different cultures. In some cultures (e.g. in countries like Burma, Greece), it is taken casually and there is no pressure to grow up;⁹ while in some other cultures (e.g. in U.S.A.) mothers are expected to train their children from infancy, so that cleanliness can be achieved at an early age. A. Gessel maintains that bowel control is not a simple physiological

9. *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, ed. Margaret Mead, UNESCO, Paris, 1953, pp. 61, 231-232.

reflex, but is a complicated behaviour pattern influenced by maturity factors; and not just a matter of habit and learning.¹⁰ The psychologists like Dewey and Humber affirm that forced control over evacuation process may create disturbance in normal development of personality.¹¹

It was not possible to study the problem of toilet training from either the medical or psychological point of view. However, the facts about toilet training practices reported by the respondents are detailed below.

The majority of women in scheduled and intermediate caste families did not give toilet training to their children, while those in advanced caste families gave toilet training to their children from infancy or at least before completion of the second year. It was noted that a large proportion of families in which both husband and wife or wife was illiterate and slightly educated did not give a training in bladder and bowel control to their children. Only a few of these families did give a training to their children after the first year. In contrast to this, the majority of medium and highly educated families were careful to see that the children learnt to control their bladder and bowel movements at an early age. Some of these families gave toilet training to their children from infancy, while the others did so between the first and the second year.

In early childhood children defaecated on the paper in the corner of a room. As they grew older, they were trained to make use of latrines. The use of 'potty chairs' was noted in only some of the rich and educated families. Children in other families were required to use latrines. The type of latrines obtained in the city were not quite comfortable for small children; hence they experienced some difficulty in getting used to make the use of latrines. Further, it was already noted that in many houses the number of latrines was smaller compared to the people who used them; and hence children in these houses had to use gutters or open spaces nearby their

10. *Infant and Child in the Culture of To-day*, A. Gessel and F. ILG, Hamish Hamilton, Ltd., London, 1943, pp. 321-322.

11. *The Development of Human Behaviour*, Dewey and Humber, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1951, p. 551.

houses for defaecation till they were 6 or 7 years old.¹² Some of the sample families lived in villages nearby Poona. They did not have latrines in their houses nor were there any public latrines. Hence children and adults in these families had to go to nearby fields for defaecation.

Children in only 3 families used latrines before completion of the first year. These were advanced caste and highly educated families who wanted to train their children in cleaner habits from an early age. Children in 281 (40.14%) families began to use latrines between the first and the second year; those in 180 (25.7%) families between the 2nd and the 5th year; while children in 113 (16.14%) families began to use latrines between the 5th and the 10th year. Children in 39 families began to use latrines quite late, because there were less number of latrines in the buildings occupied by them. Children in 16 families used open spaces nearby their residence for defaecation, because there were no latrines in the buildings occupied by them. Children in 68 families did not use latrines till the date of interview. The ages of these children were below two years.

Children from families in which both husband and wife or at least the husband was highly educated began to use latrines at an early age, i.e. between the first and the second year. Children in a large proportion of illiterate and slightly educated families began to use latrines between the 2nd and the 5th year or between the 5th and the 10th year. Women in these families were not careful to train the children to make use of latrines from the early age. Also there were lesser number of latrines in the buildings occupied by these families; hence these mothers could not train their children in this respect.

Bladder control during the day time is gained early i.e. by about the first year but 'accidents' at night still continue. Generally, children wet their beds till 18 to 24 months or even still later. Use of rubber or oil cloth below the child's linen

12. Defaecation on public streets was an offence punishable under the Municipal laws. The situation described above was observed in the police and porters' quarters which covered a plot of land away from the public road; and in the villages in Greater Poona which did not have the facility of public latrines (in 1954-55).

is found in some families. In olden times this was not known. A child slept on a mat covered with cloth; these were washed when spoiled by a child. Differences in achievement of bladder control were due to constitutional differences in children. Some children could not control their bladder movements at night till about 4th or 5th year. These children tried to gain control over their bladder movements but were unable to do so. In some cases it was due to lack of proper training in early years. It was found that those children who were properly trained, did not wet their beds from the age of six months. The mothers of these children used to train them to urinate after every two hours, used to put them on toilet before sending them to beds. Such children did not present the problem of bed-wetting. In other cases, it was due to some constitutional weakness that children did not stop bed-wetting till they were 5 or 6 years old.

Children in a larger number of sample families i.e. in 268 (38.3%) families stopped bed-wetting before the 2nd year; those in 185 (26.4%) families by about the 1st year. Children in 130 (18.5%) families stopped bed-wetting by the 3rd year. Only a small number of cases were noted in which children stopped bed-wetting by the 4th year or at even the later age.

It was noticed that children in advanced caste families stopped bed-wetting by about the first year. These were highly educated families and women in these families were careful to train their children in bladder control from an early age. A large proportion of children in intermediate and scheduled caste families stopped bed-wetting by the second year, while children in some of these families stopped bed-wetting by the third year. The mothers in the majority of these families were illiterate or slightly educated and were not careful in forming the habit of controlling the bladder movements in their children.

The enquiry was made about the different aspects of the physical growth of children such as the age of children at the teething time, the age at which they began to walk and to talk.

Teething

The lower incisors began to erupt at the age of six months of children; in some cases the teething began between the age of 9 and 12 months or even a little later. In the large number of cases, however, the teething period began between the 6th and the 9th month.

The teething of children in 195 (27.85%) families began between the 9th and the 12th month; that of children in 154 (22%) families between the 12th and the 18th month. The respondents in 15 (2.14%) families stated that the teeth of their children began to erupt between 18 and 24 months and those in 8 (1.14%) families stated that this period varied between 24 and 30 months. The author felt that this period given by the respondents was an approximation, particularly because all these respondents were illiterate or had only primary school education.

Some women complained about ill-health of children during the teething period. Children suffered from diarrhoea, vomiting, fever, cough during this period. Teething trouble was not experienced by children in 244 (34.87%) sample families. Some children in 35 (5%) families had some trouble such as diarrhoea or vomiting during the teething period. All children in 30 (4.3%) families suffered from illnesses like diarrhoea, vomiting, fever, fits during the teething period. The children in 193 (27.57%) families suffered from diarrhoea and vomiting; those in 89 (12.71%) families had fever, diarrhoea, and vomiting. Children in 79 (11.3%) families used to be slightly indisposed during the teething period. It was thus observed that children in about 2/3rd of sample families did not keep good health during the teething period. The author, not being a student of medical science, could not find out whether there was any casual relationship between the teething period and the suffering of children from diarrhoea and vomiting etc.

Walking

Children begin to stand upright and to walk with someone's help from the 9th month. It is a practice to teach children

to walk with the aid of a wooden plaything called Pangulgada¹³ and then gradually children learn to walk unaided. The age of the beginning of walking varies in different children; some children may begin to walk at the age of 9 months while the others may do so after the second or the third year.

It was observed that children in 159 (22.7%) families began to walk from the age of 9 to 12 months; those in 386 (55.14%) families, between 12 and 18 months. Children in 74 (10.57%) families began to walk between 18 and 24 months and those in 39 (5.57) families, between 24 and 36 months. Children in the few families began to walk still later i.e. after 36 months. Here again, it was not possible for the author to find out the causes of the late physical development in children in some of the sample families.

Talking

Children begin to utter a few words like 'Aai' (Mummy) and 'Baba' (Daddy) by the time they are about 12 months old. Gradually they begin to learn more words, on hearing conversation that goes on around them. This physical development also does not take place at the same age, but varies in different children. Some children may begin to talk by about 12 months while the others may begin to talk after two or three years.

Some children in sample families were dumb. In all 9 such children were obtained. One of them was dumb from the birth; while 8 children became dumb after some serious illness. One of the child suffered from meningitis and then became dumb. In another case an overdose of quinine taken by the mother during pregnancy affected the child and it became deaf and mute. (These children attended the school for deaf and mute run by B. T. College at Poona. They were taught to read, write and to 'talk' in this school. They were also given training in some useful crafts.)

Children in 74 (10.57%) families began to talk between 9 and 12 months; children in 347 (49.57%) families between 12 and 18 months; those in 146 (20.85%) families between 18 and 24 months; while children in some families began to talk

13. Pangulgada—A child's go cart.

late i.e. between the 2nd and the 4th year. On an average, children began to utter a few words by the first year but they used to stammer till about the third year, in some cases upto the 5th year. They could then talk fluently and distinctly.

In the following paragraphs there will be a discussion about the illnesses of children and the preventive as well as curative treatments that are made available to them.

Vaccination

As regards the preventive therapy, the record is as follows. In Poona, usually children are vaccinated against small-pox between the 3rd and the 12th month. Formerly people used to avoid or at least postpone getting their children vaccinated. With the spread of education and with the compulsion of Health Department of the Municipal Corporation, people get their children vaccinated at an early age. The Municipal Corporation has its health centres in the different wards of the city. The doctors attached to these centres vaccinate children on the fixed days in a week.

Children in 3 families were not vaccinated, because earlier, some children in these families died soon after they were vaccinated. Even the health inspectors of the Municipal Corporation had to admit that this was not a coincidence, because afterwards those children who were not vaccinated, survived.

Children in 282 (40.3%) sample families were vaccinated before they were three months old; children in 209 (29.85%) families were vaccinated between 3 and 6 months; those in 183 (26.14%) families between 6 and 12 months. Only in a small number of families, children were vaccinated between the first and the second year or after the 2nd year. Highly educated families got their children vaccinated at an early age i.e. before the children were 3 months old but in illiterate and less educated families children were vaccinated rather late i.e. when the children were 3 to 12 months old.

Only some highly educated families got their children injected with triple vaccine as a preventive measure against

whooping cough, tetanus and diptheria.¹⁴ The majority of families took medical help only when their children suffered from one of these diseases. The small children usually contacted the whooping cough at least once in the childhood if they were not immunised against this disease in their infancy. Children from educated and/or rich families were not an exception in this matter, unless, of course, they were immunised. This disease was contacted by children in the schools from other children who suffered from it or from their playmates in the neighbourhood. This usually happened because children who suffered from whooping cough were seldom segregated to prevent other children from contacting this disease.

Major Illnesses

Children in a majority of sample families suffered from whooping cough, measles and chicken-pox. In addition to this, children in some of the sample families suffered from diseases like pneumonia, poliomyelitis, typhoid, tonsils, diptheria, jaundice, diarrhoea and influenza.

The following are the sources of medical help available to the citizens of the Poona city. The government hospital in Poona has an honorary pediatrician attached to it and also a special ward for children. There are municipal dispensaries manned by a health visitor and a doctor. Free medical treatment is available from these two sources. Many families use indigenous medicines for ordinary ailments. In addition, there are a number of private medical practitioners in the city.

Home Remedies

The following were some of the indigenous medicines used by sample families. When children suffered from cold and cough, they were given the decoction of medicinal herbs; some of the herbs or medicines used in this decoction were : Lemon grass (*Andropogon schoenanthus*) and leaves of Tulsi plant (*Ocimum santum*), or leaves of Tulsi plant and *Piper longum*; or 'Kumari Asav' (a medicinal juice obtained from the Soco-

14. It is learnt that in England, infants are given the triple vaccine within the first ten days after the birth.

trine aloes by cutting the leaves and exposing the exudation to the sun); or the powder of Orris-root (*Iris pseudacorus*) mixed with honey. A patent Ayurvedic medicine, 'Paripathadi Kadha' (a decoction of medicinal herbs) was used to cure the whooping cough of children. A decoction prepared from the herb 'Menispermum glabrum' (a species of Moonseed) was used to cure fever of children. A small smelling resin (the produce of *Gardenia gummifera*) was fried, powdered, and after adding some sugar to it, was given to children, so that they might not experience teething trouble.

The knowledge of these traditional home remedies was handed down by the older generation to the younger generation. It was observed that this knowledge was transmitted in a majority of advanced caste families. Some of the intermediate caste families were also found using these medicines; but none of the scheduled caste families had knowledge of these remedies and hence they did not use any of these home remedies. But highly educated and well off advanced caste families first administered traditional remedies to cure the illnesses of children; and if the children were not cured by these remedies, they were given a treatment of a doctor. A majority of scheduled caste families used to take their children for treatment at the government or the municipal dispensaries or would leave them to the mercy of the Nature for cure.

The indigenous medicines mentioned in the earlier paragraph might be or might not be useful in curing diseases, but their use did not lead to any harmful effects if the proper medicines were given. In some cases, however, it was noted that the ignorant women had given harmful 'medicines' to their children, e.g. one uneducated woman, on advice of someone in the neighbourhood, put a wasp in the sore eyes of her son. This woman was told by her friend that if a wasp would sting, the sore eyes of the boy would be cured. But the result of this remedy was that that boy became completely blind!

Medical Treatment in Illness

Children in 229 (32.7%) families were given the treatment from private medical practitioners; those in 279 (39.85%)

families, at first, were given traditional home remedies and if the children were not cured by this treatment, they were given treatment by doctors. Twenty-three (3.3%) sample families used only traditional home remedies in treating their children; while 132 (18.85%) families availed of medical treatment in the government or the municipal dispensaries for their children.

More families from advanced and intermediate castes treated their children at private dispensaries. The majority of advanced caste and some of the intermediate caste families treated their children with home remedies and if these remedies did not cure diseases, children were given allopathic medical treatment. A large proportion of scheduled caste families treated their children in the government or the municipal dispensaries.

The medium and highly educated families usually treated their children at private dispensaries. These families belonged to middle and rich class and hence could afford to pay the fees of private doctors. Some of the families from these groups, at first, administered traditional medicine and afterwards treated them at private dispensaries. The information about the traditional medicines was known to the women in these families and hence they used home remedies for minor illnesses. Women in illiterate families did not know about the traditional remedies, and being poor, they had no resources to take help of private doctors. Hence a majority of such families had to treat their children at the government or the municipal dispensaries where free medical treatment was available to them.

Incantations to cure or prevent Illness

Besides taking recourse to medicines or instead of using medicines, some people took help of incantations (Drista), of making vows to the gods and of tying amulets to cure or to prevent illnesses of their children. The replies to the questions on this subject revealed that quite a few sample families practised incantations and vows to the gods for an easy or speedy recovery of children from illnesses.

The incantations (Drista) were uttered not only to cure illness of children but to prevent it as well. If the child was very good looking, its mother felt that someone in the neigh-

bourhood might have an evil eye on it and this might result in the child becoming ill. To avoid the ill-effect of the evil eyes, some women practised the incantations (Drista) daily in the evening. The procedure of carrying out the incantations was like this. The mother took the few mustard seeds, red chillies, and the few grains of salt in her two hands and then rotated her hands round the face of a child in accompaniment of some incantations (magic formula) and then threw these things in fire.¹⁵ It was a belief that if the child was taken possession of by evil eyes, these mustard seeds, etc., when thrown in the fire, would emit bad smell, not otherwise. Certain vows were taken to propitiate the gods for curing illnesses of children. This practice was called 'Navas'.¹⁶

The answers given by the respondents pointed that 372 (53.13%) families practised 'Drista' to ward off evil eyes; 72 (10.3%) families took recourse to 'Navas' or vows to gods and 'Drista' also; while 256 (36.57%) families did not practise any of these two things.

Curiously enough, the majority of scheduled caste families did not practise 'Drista' or 'Navas', but a large percentage of advanced caste (viz. Brahmins) and also intermediate caste families practised 'Drista' to ward off evil eyes.

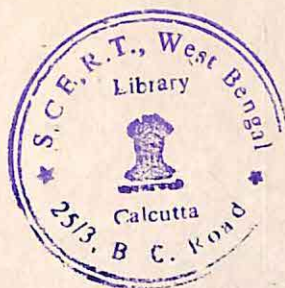
The families which practised both the 'Drista' and 'Navas' belonged, in a larger proportion, to intermediate and scheduled castes. It was further observed that the majority of medium and highly educated families practised 'Drista', while only some of the illiterate or slightly educated families practised it. The proportion of families practising both 'Drista' and 'Navas' was higher in illiterate families.

The explanation of this apparently strange phenomenon might be like this. Illiterate and slightly educated families were more worried over the problem of earning their daily bread, and had no time to spare for such practices, though

15. Drista (incantation) : This is a very frequent occurrence and is done to avoid the effect of evil eye (Drista). The incantation means "May the evil eye go, may the evil go. May the evil eye of the passerby, of a bad man, of a sinner, of any visitor, go into the fire."
16. Navas : A vow taken to offer the gods certain amount of money or other things if the children recovered from illness, etc.

they did believe in them. The respondents in these families used to question, "Oh! who has time to practise Drista?" They, however, used to propitiate gods with vows in some serious illnesses of children. Advanced caste and highly educated families gave treatment of doctors to the children in their illness; but, in addition, they practised 'Drista' and 'Navas' as well. These practices continued to be followed by the younger generation in order to obey the wishes of the older generation. Older people in these families did not mind making the use of allopathic medicines, but they insisted that 'Drista' and 'Navas' might also be practised if children were not cured of illness by medicines only. Also, 'Drista' practised in the evening would save the children from evil eyes and they might not become ill at all. The respondents in these families reasoned that these incantations etc., if practised, would not do any harm, though they might or might not cure illness of children. As a result, these practices continued to be followed in a large number of educated families.

To sum up, it could be stated from the discussions in this chapter, that parents in advanced castes and educated families were careful to see that their children received proper nutrition in infancy and childhood. These families tried to inculcate the habits of bodily cleanliness in their children from an early age; they were cautious to see that children were given preventive medicines and proper medical treatment in illnesses. Educated and well-off intermediate caste families were also careful to give nutritive food, proper medical aid to their children. But the majority of scheduled caste families were not able to give milk (except the breast milk) to their children. They were not careful to inculcate the habits of taking proper care of personal hygiene in their children from an early age, as was noted in advanced caste families. Women in these families did not know about the use of home remedies and they could not afford to pay for the treatment of private doctors; hence they used to take their children to the government or the municipal dispensaries for treatment in their illnesses.



EDUCATION

In this chapter the author will deal with the educational facilities that were available to children in sample families. The word education is used here in the sense of formal education in schools; but a reference will also be made to the preparatory education in the pre-school stage given by parents at home. Some facts about the transmission of religious principles and practices in younger generation will also be noted in the last portion of this chapter.

The family life has been described as a cultural workshop where children are taught alphabets of civilization.¹ These instructions are not sufficient to make children understand the complexities of the present day civilization, hence this knowledge is handed down to children by the schools.

The major responsibility of educating children at home as well as of arranging for their education at schools lay on the shoulders of the parents. If parents neglected or could not fulfil this responsibility, their children would have to suffer in the future. The parents who were educated or who had realized the importance of education usually tried their best to arrange for the education of their children. Much, however, depended on the economic conditions of the families.

Pre-school Education

The educated and enthusiastic parents began to teach

1. *The Child from Five to Ten*, A. Gessel and F. ILG, Harper Brothers, Publishers, New York, 1946, p. 374.

TABLE 6.1 Pre-school education of children in the sample families classified according to the castes

Caste groups	Pre-school education						Total
	(1)	No pre-school education (2)	To some children only (3)	The little pre-school education (4)	Systematic pre-school education (5)	Children were too young (6)	
1. Advanced		64 (19.64)	8 (2.45)	182 (55.83)	34 (10.4)	38 (11.67)	326
2. Intermediate		167 (68.73)	9 (3.7)	42 (17.28)	1 (0.41)	24 (9.88)	243
3. Scheduled		104 (91.22)	1 (0.88)	1 (0.88)	—	8 (7.02)	114
4. Miscellaneous		12 (70.6)	1 (5.9)	4 (23.5)	—	—	17
Total		347	19	229	35	70	700

their children soon after the children began to talk distinctly, i.e. between their 2nd and 3rd year. If there were older children in the family, they also helped in teaching their younger siblings. In the beginning, children were taught to learn by heart the alphabets, simple additions and multiplications; then they were taught to write the alphabets, words, and figures. Children were also taught to recite religious songs (Slokas) and to tell short stories. They were given information about the relations in the family (such as who was their uncle or aunt or grandparents, etc.), about the names of days in a week, the names of months in a year, and also general information about Poona city and its surrounding areas and so on. It was a practice to make children repeat and revise their lessons in the evening. The children whose parents took pains to give them this much knowledge at home before sending them to the schools, generally found no difficulty in grasping more knowledge in schools. Such instructions given at home to the children are termed 'pre-school education' and the data obtained on this point are described below.

Fifty per cent sample families did not give any education to their children at home, before sending them to the schools; 19 (2.71%) families gave instructions at home to some of their children; 229 (32.71%) families gave some instructions at home to all the children, while only 35 (5.0%) families gave more systematic education at home so that children might be able to skip a grade in the primary schools.

Nearly all scheduled caste families and a large number of intermediate caste families did not give any instructions at home before sending their children to schools; the majority of advanced caste families gave some instructions at home while a small number of these families gave systematic coaching at home so that children could be admitted in higher grades in primary schools.

It was also observed that illiterate or medium educated families were not enthusiastic about coaching their children at home while those families, in which the husbands or both the husbands and wives were highly educated, were careful to give their children some instructions at home before admitting them to schools. Some highly educated families gave systematic

coaching to their children.

Pre-primary Education

The establishment of more and more pre-primary schools in Poona within the last 15-20 years had facilitated and shared the burden of parents of educating children at home. Children could be admitted to these schools at the age of three years, though some schools admitted children after completion of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, under some special circumstances. The education in these schools is based, to some extent, on the principles of Montessori system. There is an emphasis on auto-education and spontaneous progress of children in Montessori system. Children are left to learn through the use of Montessori equipment and the teacher is expected to watch, assist, correct children in their learning. The importance of Montessori equipment in the education of small children will be evident from the quotation in the footnote.²

There is a pre-primary teachers' training institute in Poona. The principal of this institute, in a recent interview, told the author that the institute does not teach full-fledged Montessori system. It was also learnt that most of the pre-primary schools in Poona follow the system which is similar to Montessori system in certain respects. Most of these schools are partly equipped with educational equipment prescribed under Montessori system.

Some teachers in the sample expressed their opinion that the children who attended pre-primary schools could easily grasp instructions in primary schools, compared with the children who had no education at home or in pre-primary schools. The respondents whose children attended pre-primary schools were of the view that children became social, less shy

2. "It is quite possible that the real pedagogical value of the Montessori apparatus is due to the fact that it keeps children happily engaged in the exercise of their senses and their fingers when they crave such exercise most and to the further fact that it teaches them without the least strain a good deal about forms and materials. These values are not likely to be much affected by differing school conditions."—*The Montessori Method*, Maria Montessori, William Heinemann, London, 1937, xxxiii.

and disciplined after attending these schools. These children learnt going to schools at the scheduled times, staying in the schools for 3 to 4 hours; they could have good entertainment and the company of other children. Some families could admit their children in the 2nd grade in primary schools, on completion of their 5th year, as these children had nearly completed the curriculum of the first grade in pre-primary schools. A few women confided that they could take more rest during the day by sending their children to pre-primary schools.

Children in only 222 (31.7%) families were sent to pre-primary schools. Children in 414 (59.14%) families were not sent to pre-primary schools owing to various reasons, which would be discussed afterwards. Children in 64 (9.14%) families were too young to be sent to these schools. The age of children when they were sent to pre-primary schools varied from $2\frac{1}{2}$ years to 5 years. Generally, children were admitted to pre-primary schools between their 3rd and 4th year, but those who could afford the fees, admitted their children even at the age of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. Some families sent their children to pre-primary schools at their age of $4\frac{1}{2}$ years, so as to give them some instructions before admitting them to primary schools. These families could not afford to send their children to pre-primary schools from an early age, but were aware of the advantages of instructions received in pre-primary schools; and hence they thought out the solution mentioned before.

In 5 sample families children were sent to pre-primary schools after the 5th year. Actually these children were admitted to the primary section of these pre-primary schools. Some of the pre-primary schools coached the children for the first grade in primary schools. The above mentioned families sent their children to the primary section in these pre-primary schools, because these schools were nearer the residence or because they were acquainted with the teachers in these schools.

A large proportion of scheduled and intermediate caste families did not send their children to pre-primary schools; the majority of children who attended these schools belonged to advanced castes. Likewise the majority of illiterate or slightly educated families, which also belonged to lower occupational categories did not send their children to pre-primary schools.

The children who attended pre-primary schools were mainly from highly educated and middle and rich class sample families. The reasons for this situation are explained in the next paragraphs.

It was observed that very few poor families, which were illiterate and which belonged to scheduled castes, sent their children to pre-primary schools. The respondents in these families told that they could not afford to pay the fees charged in pre-primary schools. The fees charged by the private pre-primary schools varied between one rupee and seven or eight rupees. The schools which had trained staff and which were well-equipped with play equipment, charged heavy fees. In addition, most of the well-established schools were situated away from central localities; hence the total of school fees and conveyance charges was almost equal to a month's fee of a student in the arts college. The Poona Municipal Corporation has opened a pre-primary school near Daruwala bridge and it gives free education to a certain percentage of scheduled caste children. This arrangement falls short of the demand on it. The opening of a pre-primary section in each of the municipal primary schools may, perhaps, be able to cope up this growing demand on pre-primary schools.

The other reasons for not sending children to pre-primary schools were as follows : In some families, mothers or other family members had leisure to coach children at home; hence children were not sent to pre-primary schools. Children in some other families were not sent to pre-primary schools because there was no school nearby, or because children did not keep good health and the mothers did not like to strain them from such an early age.

Primary Education

Universal compulsory primary education was introduced throughout the Bombay State (now Maharashtra State) by the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923. By this Act, the major municipalities were designated as local authorities and were allowed to manage the Primary Education in their areas. Poona City Municipality was one of the municipalities to

introduce compulsory education under the Act of 1923.³

Primary education was made free and compulsory for children of 6 to 11 years in the whole area of Poona Municipal Corporation in 1950. There are nearly 100 municipal primary schools in the city. In addition, there are 73 private primary schools which receive grant-in-aid from the Municipal Corporation. The information about the total number of municipal and aided primary schools in Poona and attendance of students at these schools is given in the Administration Reports of the Poona Municipal Corporation.⁴

In spite of the compulsion by the Act and persuasion of the teachers, many parents do not send their children to primary schools; and some others are not careful to see that their children attend schools regularly. These parents are served with Enrolment Notices and Attendance Orders by the municipal authorities. The table given in the footnote⁵ will give an idea about the number of children of school-going age who were not attending schools and about those who were made to attend schools by attendance orders and prosecution.

Age at Enrolment in Schools

In the present survey, it was found that 43 (6.14%) sample

3. Administration Report, The Poona Municipal Corporation, 1956-57, p. 26.

A Review of Education in Bombay State, 1855-1955, The Director, Govt. Printing, Publications and Stationery, Bombay State, Bombay, 1958, pp. 31-32.

4. Administration Reports, The Poona Municipal Corporation, 1954-55, 1955-56 and 1956-57, pp. 24-43, 3-5 and 2-4 respectively.

5. Year	Census of children of school-going age found not attending schools	Out of the previous columns how many were made to attend by attendance orders and prosecution, etc.
1949-50	3,708	2,062
1950-51	5,582	1,966
1951-52	8,040	2,226
1952-53	8,488	2,447
1953-54	6,146	2,572
1954-55	5,637	2,081

Administration Report, The Poona Municipal Corporation, 1954-55, Poona, 1955, p. 243.

families did not send their children of school-going age to schools. These children were six or seven years old but did not attend schools. The main reason for this was negligence of parents; in some cases, children were required to do household work and hence they were not sent to schools. The majority of families sent their children to primary schools at the 6th year (i.e. after completion of the 5th year). One hundred and eighty-six (26.5%) families sent their children to schools at the 7th year; 21 (3%) families sent their children to schools at the 8th year and children in 3 families were enrolled in schools between the 9th and the 10th year.

The maximum per cent families which did not send their children of school-going age to schools belonged to scheduled and intermediate castes. Children in a majority of these families went to schools when they were 7 years old; while some of them were still late in attending schools. These families were not careful to admit their children in primary schools at the proper age laid down by the Education Act, as was seen in advanced caste families. The majority of advanced caste families and some of the intermediate caste families admitted their children in schools on completion of the 5th year. It was observed that children in 63 advanced caste families were sent late to schools. Parents in some of these families were not careful to admit their children in schools at the proper age, but in most of these cases, children were coached at home and were afterwards admitted in the 2nd or the 3rd grade in schools. Three cases in which children were enrolled in schools at the 9th or the 10th year, were the families of school and college teachers who coached their children at home but admitted them late in the schools.

Illiterate and slightly educated families were the main defaulters in not sending their children to schools on completion of their 5th year. Highly educated families were careful to send their children to schools at the proper age; some of these families which sent their children to schools on completion of the 6th year or still later, admitted them in higher grades. A large proportion of illiterate and medium educated families were late in admitting their children in primary schools.

Thus, it could be summarised that parents from advanced

castes and educated families paid more attention to the education of their children. The majority of these families coached their children at home; sent them to pre-primary schools and also admitted them in primary schools at an early age, and if possible, helped them to get admitted in higher grades. A lesser number of intermediate caste families could follow this pattern. Scheduled caste and illiterate families did not pay much attention to the education of their children. They did not coach the children at home in pre-school stage and only a few of these families sent their children to pre-primary schools. These families were also late in sending their children to primary schools.

Initial Reluctance in attending Schools

Some children found it difficult to adjust themselves to the school atmosphere. Uptill this period, they were free to play all day long, without any restrictions; and hence they resented this curb on their activities. Parents had to convince these children that under any circumstances, they had to attend the schools. Some parents offered them sweets or money as an incentive to attend schools; some others reported beating their children if they did not go to schools. In some families, mothers or some other women relatives attended schools along with the children to help them to adjust themselves to the school atmosphere. A few women reported that their children insisted on attending schools before they were of school-going age. Generally, children get used to school atmosphere after attending it for about 6 to 12 months.

Reaching Children to Schools

It was necessary to accompany children to and from schools, when they began to attend schools. The mothers or other elderly persons in the family had to do this job. If the older children in the family attended the same schools, they used to take their younger brothers and sisters along with them. Some schools had servants or motor-buses to collect children from homes and to reach them back home, for which they charged some fees. If the schools were nearby the residence, children could go to schools by themselves or in the company

of children in the neighbourhood. In the majority of sample families, parents, siblings or other family members accompanied children to schools and brought them back from schools. Some of the families sent their children with servants or in the conveyances of schools or reached children to schools in the motor cars owned by them.

Gradually children learnt to cross the streets, to follow the traffic rules; and then they began to attend schools independently. Children living nearby each other formed a group and went to schools in a group. Some schools in the city are located on the busy streets and accidents of school children are not unheard of. There is a crowd of office goers, market goers and school children on these streets between 10 a.m. to 12 p.m. and 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. School children are in a hurry to go home after school hours and they are rarely mindful of the traffic on the streets. It will be helpful if children will be given instructions in traffic sense by visual aids (i.e. by showing cinema slides on this subject) and also by practical demonstrations by showing them how to cross the streets, to walk on the proper side of the streets, etc.

Children in 180 (25.72%) families used to attend schools independently from the beginning. In these cases, the schools were nearby their residence, and the streets which led to the schools were not crowded. Also children in these localities used to go to schools in groups. Children in 110 (15.71%) families used to go to schools independently between the 6th and the 7th year i.e. after attending the primary schools for about one year they could go to schools independently. Those children who attended pre-primary schools, could be independent at an early age i.e. between the 5th and the 6th year. Children in 54 (7.71%) families did not go to schools independently till the date of this investigation; these were very young children and had entered schools quite recently or their schools were away from the residence and hence needed to be accompanied by the elders.

Skiping of Grades in Schools

There was a tendency among some parents to get their children admitted in the 2nd grade in primary schools on

completion of their 5th year. This helped the children to pass the matriculation examination at an early age. This was possible if children were given systematic coaching at home. Another method was to admit children in pre-primary schools on completion of the 3rd year and get them admitted in the 2nd grade (or even in the 3rd grade depending on the intellectual and physical capacity of the children) in primary schools on completion of the 5th year, so as to comply with the condition in the compulsory primary education Act. It was necessary to pay an extra attention to the studies of children. If these attempts were successful, children could pass their matriculation (or secondary school certificate) examination when they were about 15 or 16 years old.

This problem was related to the age limit prescribed for an entrance to the military training schools. The cadets could enter these schools or academies between the age of $15\frac{1}{2}$ and $17\frac{1}{2}$ years if they had passed or had appeared for the matriculation examination. The idea behind getting the children through the secondary school leaving certificate examination at the age of 15 or 16 was to enable them to complete their college education at an early age so that they could appear in various examinations for admission in professional colleges or appear in public service examinations. The age limit for appearing in public service examinations is 24 years, so that if a child passes B.A. or M.A. early enough, he or she can take more than two chances. This urge was seen among families of educated parents having higher incomes.

In this sample, children in only 62 families had skipped one or two grades in primary schools. These children were coached at home by the parents or they were sent to pre-primary schools and thus were able to skip one or two grades. However, not all children responded to such attempts favourably. Some cases were noted in which children had a stunted physical growth (in comparison with their younger siblings) or they had lost interest in studies in their later school career due to the overburden of the study in their tender age. An example might be cited of one family of highly educated parents who worked as teachers in a school. They took great pains to coach their eldest son to enable him to skip two grades in a

primary school. The grandfather of the boy also helped in this experiment. The boy responded favourably to the attempts of his parents, but he did not develop well physically, stopped taking any interest in play activity, and used to behave like an adult person. The parents did not repeat this experiment on their second son ! In another case, the parents admitted their son of 6 years in the 4th grade in a primary school and afterwards realised that his physical growth was affected.

Many parents tried to put heavy burden on children without judging their intellectual capacity, at times only in imitation of other parents in their kinship circle or in the neighbourhood. If the children could not come upto their expectations, the parents got disappointed. The best way would be to test intellectual capacity and inclinations of children before carrying on such experiments. The brilliant children would be definitely benefited by such efforts of their parents.

Guidance by Parents in the Studies

Children were naturally more inclined towards play than study and hence it was the duty of parents to see that children did not neglect their studies. It was observed that children in sample families were helped in their studies by their parents, siblings or by the grandparents. Some of the parents used to be too busy to coach their children, but they were careful to see that children studied at home by themselves. Uneducated parents were helpless in guiding their children; they used to persuade the children to study, and to revise their lessons. Some families engaged teachers to look after the progress of children in the studies.

Children in 82 (11.71%) families did not receive any help or guidance from the parents; neither did they study by themselves at home. In 118 (16.85%) families, children did their revision of lessons at home by themselves. In the major proportion of sample families, mothers helped the children in their studies; in some families, children received guidance in their studies from their fathers or from both the parents. Some families engaged teachers for their children. In 23 (3.3%) families, older siblings helped the younger ones while in 21 (3.0%) families uncles, aunts or grandparents looked after

TABLE 6.2 Assistance to the children in their studies by the parents classified according to their education

Education of parents	Family members who helped children in their studies									
	No one helped children did not study	Studied by themselves	Mothers	Fathers	Both parents	Older children helped younger children	Someone in the family helped children	Teachers	Did not attend schools	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1. Both illiterate	27 (30.67)	27 (30.67)	—	—	—	3 (3.4)	—	2 (2.26)	29 (33.0)	88
2. Wife illiterate, husband upto 7th std. primary	30 (25.42)	26 (22.0)	—	12 (10.2)	—	4 (3.4)	1 (0.8)	6 (5.08)	39 (33.1)	118
3. Wife illiterate, husband upto matriculation, graduation or above	3 (13.65)	6 (27.2)	2 (9.1)	3 (13.65)	—	—	1 (4.5)	2 (9.1)	5 (22.8)	22
4. Wife 4th std. primary, husband upto 7th std. primary	16 (21.92)	21 (28.76)	6 (8.22)	6 (8.22)	3 (4.11)	1 (1.37)	—	1 (1.37)	19 (26.03)	73
5. Wife 4th std. primary, husband upto matriculation, graduation or above	—	11 (28.2)	6 (15.4)	8 (20.5)	2 (5.13)	4 (10.26)	1 (2.56)	2 (5.13)	5 (12.82)	39
6. Both upto 7th std. primary	4 (11.43)	7 (20.0)	7 (20.0)	2 (5.71)	2 (5.71)	—	1 (2.85)	4 (11.43)	8 (22.86)	35
7. Wife 7th std. primary, husband upto matriculation, graduation or above	—	10 (8.54)	27 (23.0)	13 (11.1)	19 (16.24)	6 (5.13)	6 (6.13)	3 (2.6)	33 (28.25)	117
8. Both upto matriculation, graduation or above	2 (0.96)	10 (4.8)	79 (38.0)	7 (3.36)	29 (13.94)	5 (2.4)	11 (5.28)	8 (3.84)	57 (27.4)	208
Total	82	118	127	51	55	23	21	28	195	700

the school studies of children.

The proportion of families, in which either the children did not study or studied by themselves, was higher in scheduled and intermediate castes. In advanced caste families, the mothers or both the parents helped children in the studies. Children in some of the intermediate caste families received help from their mothers or fathers. Some of these families engaged teachers to help children in their studies.

It was observed that children in scheduled caste and some of the intermediate caste families did not receive help in their studies from the parents. The reason for this was that the parents in these families were illiterate or slightly educated and were not in a position to help children. They could, of course, see to it that children did not neglect their studies and studied at home and revised their lessons. But this much care was also not taken by some of these illiterate parents and children in these families did not study at all; while children in the remaining illiterate or medium educated families studied by themselves.

It was observed that children in a majority of families in which only the fathers were educated studied by themselves; though in some such cases the fathers did help children in their home work. In highly educated families, usually the mothers used to give instructions and help in the studies of children; comparatively in a lesser number of families both the parents coached their children. Teachers were engaged by families in which the mothers were illiterate or slightly educated. The highly educated families which engaged teachers, were rich families who could afford to pay the fees of teachers. In some of these families the mothers were in service. Two cases of illiterate mothers helping their children in studies were noted. These women had learnt reading and writing privately, though they did not attend schools. These cases were included in the grade of illiterates for the sake of convenience, there being only a few such cases in the sample.

An enquiry was made as to how many times the parents had to purchase books, slates and pencils for their children. As children grew older, they learnt to take care of their books, note books etc.; but they were not so careful during the first

or second year in the schools. Some parents had to purchase slates, pencils, books, etc. for their children for at least two times in a year; in some cases, for 3 to 4 times in a year. Twenty-four respondents told that they had to buy slates and books for 3 to 4 times in a year for their children. These children used to break their slates, loose or tear the books. Parents in 189 families had to purchase slates, books etc. for their children twice or thrice in a year. Children in 282 families used to take proper care of the books and hence these parents had to spend on the books, slates, etc. once in a year only; or even if children lost their books or slates, parents did not purchase these things for the second time.

Religious Education

No information was collected about the religious education given to children in the schools; but an enquiry was made about the type of religious education given to children at home by the sample families. The idols of the deities in the Hindu pantheon were worshipped by many sample families. The idols of a number of Hindu gods were worshipped, as detailed in the Hindu religious books, by the most orthodox families. The educated families, however, worshipped the images of the main deities in the Hindu pantheon, while some families did not worship the gods at home but only visited the temples in the city.

The author still remembers that in her childhood, she was expected to pay homage to the gods and recite some religious hymns after washing her face and cleansing the teeth in the morning. Only then she could have the milk and biscuits, etc. in the morning. She was also expected to pay homage to the gods, to the oil lamp and to the elders in her family in the evening. It was observed that these practices were still followed by children in sample families.

About fifteen per cent families did not worship the idols of the gods at home and children in these families did not pay homage to the gods in the morning or in the evening. Twenty per cent families worshipped the gods but children in these families did not pay homage to the gods or to the elders. However, children in the remaining sample families were observed

to be following the practice of paying homage to the gods and elders in the families.

The children who did not pay homage to the gods, were in the majority of cases from scheduled caste families. Some of these families worshipped the Hindu gods while the others did not. Children in more than half of the intermediate caste families did not bow to the gods, while children in the remaining families did pay homage to the gods worshipped in their families. Children in 308 (94.5%) advanced caste families bowed to the gods and elders in the family.

In the majority of illiterate and slightly educated families, children did not pay homage to the gods; some of these families did worship the Hindu gods while the others did not. But children in medium and highly educated families followed the traditional pattern of paying respect to the gods and elders in the family because they were disciplined by their parent to do so. Thus, advanced caste and educated families continued to transmit older religious practices in their children, because they themselves were brought up in that tradition and wanted their children to continue the same. As scheduled caste families were prohibited from following Hindu religious traditions, they had no lessons for their younger generation.

At dusk children were required to stop their play, to wash their hands and feet and to pay respects to the gods, the oil lamp burning near the gods and to the elders in the family. After that they were to revise their lessons and complete the home work of the next day. They were helped in this work by their mothers, older siblings or by the grandparents, etc. Small children who did not attend schools were taught simple additions and multiplication tables or short stories and songs by the elders.

Children in 336 (48%) families did not say their evening prayers nor did they revise their school studies; those in 254 (36.3%) families recited prayers and revised their lessons but did not do so regularly; while children in 57 (8.13%) families regularly followed these practices. It was observed that this practice of revising lessons and saying prayers in the evening was followed by children in the majority of advanced caste families. This was a regular practice in some of these families

while in others it was not followed regularly. Children in only one scheduled caste family and 53 (21.81%) intermediate caste families followed this routine.

Visits to Temples

Religious minded families used to go to one or two temples in the city and usually took their children with them. It was a practice to visit temples of different deities on different days in a week e.g. 'Shiva' temples to be visited on Mondays, a temple of the goddess on Tuesdays and Fridays 'Dattatraya' temple on Thursdays and 'Hanuman' temple on Saturdays. The temples of different gods are situated in all the localities of the city. Women used to take children for a visit to the temples in the evening, when they had to go for marketing also.

Children in 243 (34.7%) families were not taken for visits to the temples. Children in 436 (62.3%) families visited the temples on the occasions of some of the religious festivals; while those in 11 families visited the temples almost daily. Children in 10 Muslim and Christian families visited churches or mosques occasionally. Children who did not visit the temples were from scheduled caste families; while children in the majority of advanced and intermediate caste families visited the temples on occasions of religious festivals. Twelve scheduled caste families, which visited temples, lived in the city; while the rest of the families lived in Suburban Municipal wards, where there were only a few temples. Of course, advanced and intermediate caste families living in these localities used to go to the city to visit the temples, while scheduled caste families did not take trouble to visit temples in the city area.

Scheduled caste people were denied entrance in the Hindu temples until recently. They could show respect to the gods from outside the temples. Continuous efforts on the part of liberal minded Hindu leaders had opened the gates of public temples to the scheduled caste people. But traditions die hard. It seems from the data that scheduled caste people have not taken to visiting temples of the Hindu gods. And now, with their conversion to Buddhism, scheduled caste people do

not care to go to the Hindu temples.

The majority of medium and highly educated families used to take their children to the temples on festival days, while illiterate and slightly educated families did not take their children to the temples. The majority of illiterate families belonged to scheduled castes who, as stated earlier, did not visit Hindu temples.

Celebration of Religious Festivals

A number of religious festivals were celebrated by the Maharashtra Hindus in every month in the year. The New Year's day was celebrated in the month of April; after that the following important festivals were celebrated : 'Ramnavami', 'Chaitragouri' in April, 'Vatapournima', 'Ashadhi Ekadashi' in July, 'Nagpanchmi', 'Cocoanut Day', 'Janmasthami' in August, 'Ganapati' festival in September, 'Dassera' and 'Diwali' in October, 'Sankranti' in January, 'Mahashivaratri' in February and 'Holi' in March. There were at least one or two important festivals in each month, there being many more festivals in a month for the religious minded people. Most of these festivals were celebrated as family functions, while friends and acquaintances were invited to participate in some of the festivals like 'Chaitragouri', 'Mangalagouri', 'Sankranti', etc.

These festivals were not celebrated as they were performed in old days. The rigidity of religious duties was slowly giving way to improvised forms suitable for the present day social and economic conditions. But in any case at least the skeletal remains of the traditional patterns were expected to be maintained.

It was necessary to spend money and energy on celebrations of the religious festivals, and hence most of the families celebrated only the main festivals. But orthodox families celebrated as many of these festivals as was possible for them. The Muslims celebrated festivals like Id, Muharrum, etc. and the Christians celebrated Ester and Christmas.

The majority of families from all caste groups celebrated only the important religious festivals. But a good number of advanced caste families celebrated some of the minor festivities as well. Similarly, the sample families from all educational

grades celebrated the major festivals but highly educated families celebrated minor religious festivals also. There were only four families in the sample who did not celebrate religious festivals. These were poor families who had neither money, nor enthusiasm for such celebrations. From this discussion, it could be concluded that the advanced caste families, though influenced by the Western education, continued to follow the traditional religious practices and to imbibe the same religious beliefs in their children.

Children in the majority of advanced caste families continued to bow to the gods in the morning, to recite the evening prayers, to visit the temples on festival days and to participate in the religious festivities celebrated by the families. This pattern was followed by children in some of the intermediate caste families. Children in the majority of scheduled caste families did not carry out any of these religious practices because since olden times scheduled caste families were prohibited from following these religious practices of high caste Hindus.

The mothers used to teach children to do their work by themselves and be self-dependent in such things as putting on the clothes, brushing up the teeth, taking the bath and eat their meals by themselves. It was noticed that in some families, particularly in poorer and illiterate families, children were expected to be self-dependent at an early age; while in other families children were gradually trained to do their work by themselves. These were the educated families who used to take more care of their children.

Assistance in Household Work

As the children grew older, they were expected to share in the household duties. This was expected more from the girls than from the boys. This burden fell on children in poorer and illiterate families at a comparatively early age. In these families, the girls were required to cleanse utensils, to bring water for cooking and drinking from the common water-taps, to wash clothes, to cook meals and also to look after younger siblings. In one poor class family in the sample, the parents used to go out for work before 9 o'clock in the morning.

Their daughter who was eight years old used to look after her two siblings throughout the day, cook meals (rice and cereals) for them and feed them. Women in the neighbourhood were helpful and so the parents could go to their work, leaving their three small children at home.

Children in middle class families were also required to do some odd jobs such as purchasing the vegetables and provisions for a small amount. This was particularly observed in single families. If there were more adult members in the family, children were rarely required to do household work. In well-off families, children were not expected to do much of the household work. Servants and other family members did the household work. Children were occasionally asked to do simple jobs like conveying messages to the friends, etc. But they were comparatively free to play and study.

Some of the rich families were seen taking care to teach their children to do marketing, cooking, etc. In one rich family, the father taught his son of thirteen years to send money orders, or registers at the post office; to deposit and to withdraw money from the bank. The father had gone to England at the time of this investigation and this boy used to manage the money matters in the family.

This problem had a bearing on the attendance of children at schools and on the leisure the children could have to study or to play after school hours. Some of the parents did not send their children to schools at proper age if they required children's help in household work, or in looking after younger siblings. Children in some such families used to attend schools a little late than normal school hours, or they could not study or play after school hours. This was more evident in poor families. Women in these families had to do household work by themselves, and they had to take help from the children if there was no one else to help them. The girls were required to do more work than the boys.

Children in middle and rich class families were also required to help in household work but not at so young age, as was noticed in poor families. The educated parents were careful to see that children helped in household work but at the same time they were careful to send them to schools at proper time.

and to allow them leisure to study and to play after school hours.

Some of the respondents told that their children used to refuse to do household work. This was noticed in 97 (13.85%) sample families. Children in 55 (7.85%) families were not required to do any household work, as there were other family members to shoulder the responsibility. In 368 (52.57%) families, children used to do a little household work while those in 26 (3.71%) families had to do a lot of work at home. In the remaining families, children were too young to help in the household work.

Children in families from all caste groups used to do some light household work for the family; but children who did not help in household work or those who did a lot of household work were in a large proportion in the families belonging to intermediate and scheduled castes. Women in poor families were more in need of help from children in the household work or in baby tending. But children in some of these families used to refuse to help their parents. Quite a few women in middle and rich families did not require children's help, while children in the remaining families used to help in doing light household work. Children in some of the poor families used to do heavy work such as cooking, washing clothes for the family.

To sum up, parents in advanced caste families paid proper attention to the education of their children. Children in these families were coached at home between the age of 2 and 3 years, they were then sent to pre-primary schools and primary schools at the proper age. These parents helped the children in their studies. Certain religious beliefs were imbibed in the children : they were expected to show respect to the gods and the elders, to visit temples, etc. Children in these families were taught to be self-dependent and helpful in the household work, but not at the cost of their studies.

Educated and well-off intermediate caste families also took care of educational advancement of their children. But scheduled caste families presented a contrasting picture. Most of the parents in these families were illiterate and some of them were just literates; they followed lowly occupations and earned meagre wages or salaries. Though some of them did realise

that it was necessary to educate children for their economic and social uplift, the progress in this direction was rather slow.

But this picture needs to be viewed from a different angle. The data on the education of scheduled caste children must be compared with the figures of school-going children some 20 or 30 years back. If these figures may be collected, the comparison may show that the situation about education among scheduled caste children is improving. In this thesis, however, there is a comparison about the educational facilities available to children in different caste groups in the sample. And from this point of view, it must be mentioned that the educational progress of children in scheduled caste families was not properly looked after.

RECREATION

The types of games played by children and the other recreational facilities such as the visits to movies, going on excursions and journeys, listening to the radio programmes and reading the story books and magazines, etc. available to children in sample families will be discussed in this chapter.

The importance of play activity in the childhood has been emphasised by psychologists. The physical, intellectual and emotional development of children is influenced by the games they play. Outdoor games are good for their physical well-being, intellectual games like puzzles, braino, mecano are helpful in widening their knowledge. Playthings like dolls, toy-animals can be a source of emotional satisfaction to the children who are often seen talking¹ to them in their happiness or grief. The quotations given in the footnote will be helpful in understanding the value of play in the life of children.²

1. "Childhood", says Sir Cyril Burt in *The Young Delinquent*, "is the age of play, and no one will deny that the provision of opportunity for free and constructive play is an absolute necessity for the growth of stable, well-balanced children."
2. Susan Isaacs, for example, in her book *Social Development in Young Children*, says : "Play is not only the means by which the child comes to discover the world; it is supremely the activity which brings him psychic equilibrium in the early years." *These Our Children*, A. Collins and Vera E. Poole, Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London, 1950, pp. 80-81.

Toys and Games

The toys that are generally used by the infants are paper or cloth sparrows which are kept dangling over the cradle, a small silver or wooden dumb bell, a rattle and animals, dolls made from rubber, cloth or plastic. A variety of toys like small air-planes, automobiles, trucks, boats, trains or dishes and cooking utensils, or rocking horses, tricycles, wooden or plastic puzzles are purchased for children as they grow up.

In the childhood, girls play games like the marriage of their dolls. They imagine themselves in the role of mothers of the dolls and arrange their marriage with boys (dolls) of their friends, and the proceedings of the real marriage are imitated. Another game played by girls is called 'Bhatukali'³ in local language. It is a miniature feast given to playmates. The girls ask for sweets and some other eatables from their mothers for this feast and then they pose to 'cook' these things in the small pots and pans they have. The friends in the neighbourhood are invited and are treated with the sweetmeats received from the mothers.

The other games played by the girls are skipping ropes and 'sagar gote' (a game played with seven or nine 'sagar gote' i.e. *Guilandina Bonducell*). The games which are played without any play equipment are hide and seek, chasing, 'kabaddi', 'khokho'⁴ etc. These games as well as the games like playing cards, carrom boards, riding a tricycle etc. are played by both boys as well as girls; but kites, 'viti dandu' (a rod and bell), cricket, hockey etc. are usually played by boys only.

The types of games played by children and the play equipment owned by them, varied considerably in different families. Children in 86 (12.3%) families did not have many playthings; infants in some of these families had small toys such as rattles, plastic animals, dolls, etc. Children in 320 (45.7%) families played with kites, tops, and the games like hide and seek, chasing, 'viti dandu', bat-balls were played by children in

3. Bhatukali : A play among children in which they imitate the cooking of rice, laying out of a dinner, etc.
4. Kabaddi and Khokho : The Indian team games which are played by the two teams of eleven players.

TABLE 7.1 Toys available to children in sample families classified according to their occupations

Occupations	Types of games								
	Toys for infants	Hide-seek, chasing, kites, tops	Vitidandu, batball, hide-seek, chasing	Playing cards, carrom board, etc.	Riding tricycle, and motor mecano, Bhatu-kali, dolls	Playing cards, carrom board, cricket, hockey, badmin-ton	Vitidandu, batball, Bhatukali, dolls, skipping etc.	Bhatu-kali, dolls, skipping etc.	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Unskilled labourers	37 (23.13)	1.0 (68.75)	3 (1.87)	—	—	—	2 (1.25)	8 (5.0)	160
2. Skilled labourers	9 (21.94)	25 (61.0)	—	2 (4.88)	—	—	3 (7.31)	2 (4.88)	41
3. Craftsmen, artists	8 (18.2)	15 (34.1)	2 (4.54)	2 (4.54)	—	—	7 (15.9)	10 (22.72)	44
4. Small businessmen	3 (6.12)	22 (44.94)	6 (12.24)	2 (4.1)	—	—	10 (20.4)	6 (12.2)	49
5. Clerks, teachers etc.	21 (7.47)	115 (40.92)	22 (7.83)	14 (5.0)	10 (3.56)	4 (1.4)	54 (19.22)	41 (14.6)	281
6. Higher salaried posts	2 (4.44)	9 (20.0)	3 (6.7)	3 (6.66)	3 (6.66)	3 (6.66)	15 (33.33)	7 (15.55)	45
7. Professionals, businessmen	—	7 (15.9)	7 (15.9)	4 (9.1)	4 (9.1)	1 (2.3)	14 (31.8)	7 (15.9)	44
8. Well-to-do	3 (20.0)	7 (46.66)	—	2 (13.33)	—	—	2 (13.33)	1 (6.66)	15
9. Unemployed	2 (22.22)	6 (66.66)	—	1 (11.11)	—	—	—	—	9
10. Not known	1 (8.33)	4 (33.33)	—	2 (16.66)	—	1 (8.33)	1 (8.33)	3 (25.0)	12
Total	86	320	43	32	17	9	108	85	700

43 (6.13%) families, while children in 32 (4.57%) families played with 'viti dandu', bat-balls, playing cards, carrom boards, etc. Children in 17 (2.43%) families could play with a mecano and could ride a tricycle, rocking horse, in addition to playing the usual games of 'viti dandu', bat-ball, hide and seek, etc., while the girls in these families played with dolls and 'Bhatukali'. Children in only 9 families played the games requiring costly materials, like cricket, hockey, badminton, playing cards, carrom boards, etc. In 108 (15.53%) families the boys played with 'viti dandu', bat-ball, etc., while the girls played with dolls, 'Bhatukali' etc. Girls in 85 (12.14%) families played with dolls, 'Bhatukali', 'sagar gote' etc.

Thus, it was noted that the costly play equipment was available to a small number of children while children in the remaining families owned inexpensive toys or no playthings at all. The families in which children did not have any playthings or had only inexpensive toys were in a larger proportion from scheduled and intermediate castes. A good number of advanced caste families had at least some play equipment like 'viti dandu', bat-ball for boys and dolls, skipping ropes, 'sagar gote', etc. for girls; while some of these families could purchase costly games material like tricycles, carrom boards, a mecano, hockey sticks, badminton rackets, dolls and other toys for their children.

Children in the families of unskilled, skilled labourers and the unemployed did not have any toys or owned only inexpensive toys and played games which required no equipment. Some of the families from occupations like clerks, teachers, higher salaried posts and professionals purchased costly toys for their children but a majority of these families could afford to purchase toys like dolls, bat-balls, skipping ropes, etc. Thus, children in poor families owned only inexpensive toys, but those in middle and rich class families owned costly toys and other play equipment.

So far the author dealt with the games played by children at home. A reference will now be made to the children's play activity outside their homes. There are some institutions in Poona which arrange to give physical education to the children.

Bharat Scouts and Guides, Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh⁵ and Maharashtra Mandal are the institutions which have physical training classes for boys and girls. There are institutions called 'Talims' (gymnasiums) where the boys learn various physical exercises.

It was observed that children in only a small number of sample families took advantage of these facilities. Children in 31 (4.4%) families attended Scouts; those in 14 (2.0%) families attended 'Vyayam Mandal'; those in 10 families attended 'Dals' conducted by R. S. S. and children in only 2 families attended gymnasiums. The majority of these families belonged to advanced castes. Parents in these families were attentive to the children's need for physical exercise and recreation.

School-going children are given physical training in the schools for the fixed hours in a week. After the school hours, children play with their friends in the neighbourhood. But in the crowded and congested localities in the city, children do not have enough space for playing in their houses and so they have to play on the streets which is quite dangerous. The scanty attendance of children at the institutions like Scouts, 'Vyayam Mandal' means that though there are possibilities for better recreation-cum-physical training for children, people in general are not taking full advantage of them. This may be due to the fact that these institutions are located in the wards which are away from the congested localities like Raviwar, Kasba, Mangalwar, Budhwar, Nana and Bhawani wards. It is also possible that the parents in these families are not aware of and attentive to the recreational needs of their children.

Visits to Parks

There are five parks⁶ (one of them is a zoological garden)

5. A cultural and social welfare body. It has branches which are called 'Dals' all over the town. There are separate 'Dals' for boys and girls. These have sessions in the morning and evening. Children who attend these 'Dals' are taught various physical exercises.
6. The names of these parks are :

1. Sambhaji Park 2. Erandwane Park 3. Peshwa Park 4. Ghorpade Peth Garden and 5. Sahu Udyan.

In addition, there are some small gardens, e.g. (a) Shivaji Garden, (b) Jijamata Garden, (c) Shaniwar Wada Garden (d) Cantonmen Garden, etc.

in the Poona Municipal Corporation area. These have become very favourite places for the evening walk, especially for the children, because they have an added attraction of swings, seesaws, sliding ladders, etc. in the children's sections. In the absence of a park nearby the residence, children are taken for a walk to the playgrounds of the schools in that locality.

Children in 285 (40.7%) sample families did not go for the evening walk; those in 328 (46.9%) families went for a walk on Sundays and holidays; while children in 87 (12.4%) families were taken for an evening walk almost daily. Of these 87 families, children in 25 families used to go for a walk by themselves or with the children in the neighbourhood; while children in 8 families were sent for the evening walk with servants. Children in the remaining families used to go for a walk with their parents or with some other family members.

It was noted that the women who did not take their children for the evening walk were in a majority of cases from scheduled and intermediate castes; while the majority of women from advanced castes and some of the women from intermediate castes used to take children for walk at least on Sundays and holidays.

Women from scheduled and intermediate caste families used to express their inability to take the children for the evening walk on the grounds that they were too busy with household work; and it was more or less true. But more important than this was their attitude towards this problem. The majority of them had not thought about the usefulness of such walks as a change of atmosphere from the daily routine. This attitude was evident from the replies given by them, on being questioned whether they took their children for the evening walk.

Excursions and Trips

The present educational regulations have put up a demand on school authorities that children must be taken on excursions to different places at least once in a year. Children from pre-primary and primary schools are taken to gardens in the Greater Poona such as the Bund gardens, the Botanical gardens or the Empress gardens; or to the Parvati, Vithalvadi, Aranyeshwar and Padmavati temples. Children in the higher grades

visit the Buddhist caves at Karla, the dams at Bhatghar, Mulshi, and Lonavala. The parents had to pay some contributions towards these trips which was not always possible for the poorer parents; and hence children in such families could not go on excursions.

The parents in some of the families used to take their children for trips to the above mentioned gardens, temples, dams and hill stations like Lonavala, Khandala, Mahabaleshwar and Matheran. Some of the families visited their relatives living in the other towns along with the children during the Diwali and summer vacations. A few families had taken their children for journeys to distant places like Kashmir, Kathmandu, Calcutta, Kanyakumari. The grandparents or parents in these families had to go on a pilgrimage-cum-pleasure trip and they had taken their young children with them. This sort of opportunity was available to only a few children.

The educative value of such excursions and trips is evident. Children learn many things about geography, history, botany, physics, etc. when they see by themselves different historical places, dams, lakes, electric power generating stations, etc. They also learn to behave in the company of teachers, to help others in cases of difficulty, to tolerate some inconvenience which they may not tolerate at home; they learn about the customs, languages, dresses, food habits of people in different regions in India and so on.

The fees charged for going on school trips for children in primary schools might not exceed one or two rupees, while the expenses of visiting the relatives might be much higher. But the parents were more inclined to take children for visits to relatives than sending them to school trips. Some parents used to get worried to send their children alone on such trips because these children were naughty and they were not sure that the children would be well cared for during the trips. These parents feared that the children might go near the wells or lakes and might be drowned or might get themselves hurt. They preferred to take children with them on visits to the relatives or for trips to hill stations, to temples, to the lakes and dams. The relatives were visited on such occasions as marriages or naming ceremonies. Such visits were not prima-

rily meant for the entertainment of children, but, of course, the children were benefited.

Children in 149 (21.3%) families did not go on excursions or trips and journeys. Of these, children in 96 families were not attending schools while those in 53 families attended schools but did not go to trips and journeys. Children in 104 (14.8%) families had gone on excursions from schools; those in 125 (17.85%) families visited the relatives living outside Poona with their family members and children in 274 (39.14%) families had gone on school excursions as well as for journeys with the family members to visit the relatives during holidays. Children in only 4 families had gone on excursions from their schools and also to visit distant places like Kashmir, Kashi, Kanya Kumari, Rameshwar, etc. along with their grandparents or parents.

The school-going children who did not go on excursions etc. were in the majority of cases from scheduled and intermediate caste families. These were the illiterate and poor families who could not afford to pay for the expenses of school excursions. Children who went to school excursions to nearby places were also mainly from scheduled and intermediate caste families which belonged to lower occupations and were illiterate or slightly educated. Some of these families were very poor, and found it very difficult to bear the expenses of school trips but did so for the sake of their children. Children in these families, however, had more opportunities to visit their relatives and also to go on visits to the religious fairs (to the places of their family deities) along with the family members.

Children in the majority of advanced caste families had opportunities to go to school trips as well as for visits to relatives and journeys to outside places. These families were highly educated and were from middle and rich classes; so they could afford to spend on such trips. The families which took their children to distant places like Kashmir, Rameshwar were also from advanced castes, were highly educated and belonged to rich class.

If the schools will be able to bear the expenses of such trips, with some percentage of grant from the Education department for this specific purpose, for children in poorer families

(the upper limit of annual income may be fixed up for this facility) it will enable them to take part in this enjoyable educational activity.

Visits to Relatives

Some parents used to send their children alone to visit and stay with the relatives in Poona or those living outside Poona. Children had a change of atmosphere and entertainment from such visits. In addition, this helped to inculcate a spirit of independence in them. Children were naturally attached to their parents, particularly to the mothers and did not like to stay away from them. But on occasions, parents had to go alone to attend marriage functions of their relatives and could not always take the children with them. If the children were used to live independently, they did not find it difficult to adjust themselves in such emergencies.

It was observed in Chapter 2 that only 100 sample families had no relatives (of husbands') living either in Poona or outside Poona. The majority of wives had relatives in Poona or outside Poona. This means, the majority of families had relatives in Poona or outside Poona. But the parents did not seem to be inclined to send their children to stay away from them. It was noted that 488 (69.7%) parents did not send their children to visit their relatives by themselves; of course, children in some of these families were too young to be sent alone. Children in the remaining families visited their relatives in Poona or outside Poona or at both the places. It was more convenient to send children to the relatives in the city, because in case the children could not adjust, they might be brought back. Hence more families sent their children to relatives in Poona than to those living outside Poona.

Visits to Movies

Going to movies has become a popular means of recreation for all classes in the society. In India, there are not many films especially produced for children. Recently, this problem has attracted the attention of the Government and the result is that some children's films like 'Jaldeep', 'Id Mubarak' have been produced. But there are only a few such films and are

not often shown in the cinema houses in the city. Some of the educated parents sent their children to see Walt Disney's cartoon pictures and other foreign films like 'Ukivarisoo' which were meant for children.

The majority of parents, being indiscriminate goers to cinema houses, did not realise the ill-effects of some of the pictures on children, who were old enough to understand everything they saw on the screen. Sensitive and sentimental children form deceptive impressions about life on seeing movies with dacoity or romantic scenes in them. While describing the unhealthy effects of movies on juvenile delinquents, the authors of the book "These Our Children" had expressed a similar concern about social adjustment of such children.⁷

At times the parents had unavoidable difficulties, e.g. in single families there was no one else to look after children in the absence of parents; in other cases, parents-in-law or other relatives were not too happy to look after children while parents of the children had gone to see pictures. Hence the parents had to take their children with them whenever they visited picture houses.

Parents in 221 (31.57%) families did not take their children to see pictures while those in the remaining families used to take their children to see mythological, social, historical pictures. Of these, parents in 50 families used to go to English pictures with their children. Children in 15 families did not like to see pictures, either because they were afraid of darkness, or because they preferred to play with their friends.

Children in a large proportion of scheduled and inter-

7. "Whatever the effects of the films shown at our cinemas today—there are people who argue that many of the films are an obvious inducement to impressionable youngsters to commit crime, whilst others claim there is no evidence to prove this—there can be little doubt that films which continually stress the seamy side of life with the accent on wealth, dress and sexual matters must inevitably have an unsettling effect on the child's social adjustment." *These Our Children*, A. Collis and Vera E. Poole, Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London, 1950, p. 102.

mediate caste families did not go to see pictures. (Comparatively a small proportion of advanced caste families did not take the children to the pictures.) These families were illiterate or slightly educated and followed lower occupations. They could not spend for taking their children to pictures, though the menfolk in these families might be visiting picture houses quite often.

Children who were taken to all types of pictures, including English, were from advanced caste families, which were highly educated and followed higher occupations. Some of them were from intermediate castes also. Children in a few illiterate or slightly educated families, belonging to the categories of unskilled and skilled labourers, were taken to English movies also. Some of the famous English movies were seen by illiterate persons also who used to take their children with them. Thus, the majority of sample families took their children to historical, social, and mythological pictures except the scheduled caste and illiterate families.

Local Religious Festivities

A number of entertainment programmes, with religious and social background, take place in the city throughout the year. One of them is the procession of the portraits and footprints (carved in marble) of poet-saints Tukaram and Gyane-shwar. These portraits and foot marks are kept in the palanquines and are carried on shoulders by the devotees through the main city streets, on their way to Pandharpur. Rich and poor, educated and uneducated, enjoy this occasion with equal zest. Children find it entertaining to see this mile long procession passing through the city streets. Thousands of religious minded people from the city as well as from nearby villages come and see this procession called 'Palakhi' (palanquine) every year.

Another very popular festival is the celebrations of 'Ganesh Chaturthi' in the month of September. These celebrations last for ten days and provide some religious and other entertainment to the citizens of Poona. Clay images of Ganapati, the god of learning in the Hindu pantheon, are worshipped by the Hindus at home as well as in temples in different parts of the city. Programmes of classical and light Indian music as well

as lectures by eminent persons on religious, social and political subjects are organised at the public places or at temples, where the idols of 'Ganapati' are worshipped. Citizens attend these programmes in a large number, in spite of the heavy rains during this month. The temples and pendals erected at the prominent street squares where the images of Ganapati are worshipped, are decorated attractively and illuminated in the evening. Children are taken to see these decorations and illuminations.

Next comes Diwali, the festival of lights, which is celebrated in the month of October or November. Business localities, public as well as private buildings are illuminated for four days. Children go to see these illuminations along with their parents or someone else in the family. Children have holidays from schools, as their terminal examinations are over in October. They keep themselves busy in constructing 'toy-forts', the miniature replicas of forts in the Maharashtra or imaginery forts, with clay and bricks, etc. Teachers in some of the schools guide their students in laying out the plans and in building these 'forts', some of which depict scenes from places like Koyana Dam, Mahabaleshwar, 'Ghats' on the rivers like the Godavari and the Ganga or scenes from Kashmir or Hardwar, etc. The Poona Municipal Corporation organises a competition and awards prizes for the best 'toy fort' made by children either at their homes or in the schools.

After about a fortnight from Diwali, artists hold exhibitions of 'Rangoli'⁸ drawings. These exhibitions are arranged in different wards of the city. The entrance fees for these exhibitions vary from one anna to about four annas. Portraits of national leaders, saints, historical persons, etc. are drawn with the use of 'Rangoli' either on the ground or on the water. This is also a very popular form of entertainment with the people.

Visits to circus shows, to exhibitions, whenever there be any in the city, are the entertainments that are enjoyable to children. The religious fairs, 'Jatra' such as those at Chhattursringi and Parvati temples and 'Urus' (religious fairs of Muslims)

8. Rangoli—Powder made by pounding particular soft stones. It is used in drawing lines and figures before an idol or on the floor where an entertainment is to be given.

were particularly favourites with religious minded people. The information about the types of entertainments available to children in the sample families will be analysed in the following paragraphs.

Children in 83 (11.25%) families were not taken to any of the entertainment programmes mentioned earlier. Children in some of these families were very small and could not be taken to any of these programmes or the parents had no time or money to go to these entertainment programmes. Children in 214 (30.57%) families accompanied their parents to see the festivities like 'Ganapati' and 'Palkhi'; while those in 314 (44.85%) families visited circus shows, exhibitions etc. in addition to the 'Ganapati' and 'Palkhi' celebrations. Thus, expensive entertainments like circus and exhibitions as well as comparatively inexpensive items like visits to 'Ganapati' and 'Palkhi' festivities were available to children in these families. Children in 86 (12.3%) families visited non-religious entertainments like circus, exhibitions, etc.

These entertainment programmes could be divided into two types: (1) those with religious background and (2) those without religious background. Of these, the first type of entertainments were comparatively inexpensive. Anyone could see these festivities without spending on the tickets. They might have to spend on bus fares (many poor people, of course, used to cover the whole distance on foot) and on buying sweets and toys, etc. for children on such occasions. But the second type of entertainments were comparatively expensive. One had to spend on buying the tickets for visiting such entertainments. The rates of tickets of 'Rangoli' exhibitions or 'Toy Forts' were cheaper but those of circus shows were costlier. The expenses of such entertainments, though comfortably borne by middle and rich class families, were heavier for the poor families.

It was observed that children in the majority of scheduled and intermediate caste families went to see 'Ganapati', 'Palkhi' and similar inexpensive entertainment programmes. A good number of scheduled caste families did not take their children to any entertainment programmes. These were illiterate and poor families who were not particularly attentive to their

TABLE 7.2 Type of entertainment available to children in the sample classified according to their castes

Caste groups	Local entertainment					Total
	No entertainment	Ganapati, Palkhi	Ganapati, Palkhi, circus, exhibitions	Circus, exhibitions, Rangoli	Religious fairs	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Advanced	25 (7.7)	12 (3.7)	213 (65.3)	76 (23.3)	—	326
2. Intermediate	18 (7.4)	125 (51.44)	93 (38.3)	5 (2.06)	2 (0.81)	243
3. Scheduled	32 (28.07)	76 (66.66)	4 (3.52)	1 (0.87)	1 (0.87)	144
4. Miscellaneous	8 (47.05)	1 (5.9)	4 (23.53)	4 (23.53)	—	17
Total	83	214	314	86	3	700

children's need for recreation, who had neither leisure nor money to spend on entertainment programmes.

Children from the majority of advanced caste families visited religious and the other types of entertainments. Children from some of the intermediate caste families had also such opportunities. The parents in these families were educated and hence were aware of the value of entertainment for their children. These were middle and rich class families who could afford to spend on expensive entertainments; and hence these parents used to take their children to various entertainment programmes.

Listening to Radio Programmes

Radio broadcasts have entertaining and educative value for children. In addition to increasing the general knowledge of children these programmes offer a healthy entertainment to children. Children in sample families listened to children's programmes broadcast twice a week by AIR Poona and Bombay and also to the other programmes of classical music, songs, dramas, etc.

Children under 14 years can take part in the children's programmes. Story telling, singing, instrumental music, dramas are the usual features in these programmes. Children who can sing, or act in plays or play on musical instruments can develop their talents and take part in these programmes which may help them to be the radio artists in future.

It was already observed in Chapter 2 that 520 (74.3%) sample families did not own radio sets. Evidently, this form of entertainment was not available to children in nearly 3/4 of the sample families. However, children in 40 families were very eager to listen to radio programmes and used to go to their neighbours who had radio sets to listen to children's programmes or music on radio. These children were from advanced and intermediate caste families, which were medium or highly educated; but none of these children belonged to scheduled caste or illiterate families. The reason for this was that the majority of these families concentrated in certain localities and none of them was rich enough to have a radio set. So it was not possible for any of the children from schedu-

led caste families to go and listen to radio programmes at their neighbour's house. No enquiry was made about the inclinations of these children i.e. how they would have reacted, had there been a radio in their neighbourhood.

On the contrary it was found that children in 20 families did not listen to radio programmes, even though these families owned radio sets. It thus ultimately depended on the inclinations of the children. These children were not fond of listening to music or to the other programmes broadcast on radios. These were, however, only a small number of cases. Children in the remaining families, having radio sets, used to listen to the radio programmes.

The majority of children listened to the children's programmes; some of them, in addition, listened to either dramas and features or to film songs or classical music. These children mostly belonged to advanced castes and highly educated families but some of them were from intermediate castes and literate or medium educated families. Children in these families had the facility of having radio sets in their families; but equally important was the fact that the parents in these families encouraged and guided children to make use of this form of entertainment. Only two families from illiterate and scheduled caste families owned radio sets. One of these families was in small business and was comparatively better off; and in the other family, both the father and his grown up son were the earners. Hence these could afford to have radio sets. But the majority of scheduled caste and illiterate families were too poor to own a radio set and hence children in these families had no opportunities to listen to radio programmes.

Hobbies of Children

Enquiries were made whether children in sample families had any hobbies, if any of them were gifted with artistic inclinations and if parents tried to help in the development of these artistic tendencies of their children. It was observed that children in sample families had hobbies, based on natural gifts, such as singing, dancing, playing on 'Tabla' (an Indian percussion instrument), drawing, painting, acting; and the others such as stamp-collecting, photography, craft-work, etc. The word

hobby is used to suggest that children had a flare for singing, dancing, acting, drawing and painting, etc. It does not necessarily mean that some training was given to children to develop their natural gifts.

Many parents were not aware of the artistic inclinations of their children; while not all parents who were aware of their children's ability, were able to nurture these nature's gifts. Some of them were not able to spend on giving training to their children. Children in some families received lessons in singing, acting, etc. from their family members. The hobbies such as stamp-collecting, photography, sports were pursued by children in only a few highly educated and rich families. In one of the rich family (belonging to the occupational category of professionals), a boy of 14 years was interested in shooting. He used to go for shooting birds, etc. with his airgun along with his father.

Nearly 74 per cent of the respondents told that their children had no hobbies; while children in the remaining families had hobbies of singing, dancing, acting (prominently, the girls in these families had these hobbies), drawing-painting,⁹ photography, sports, etc.

Children in the large number of intermediate caste families and in none of the scheduled caste families had any hobbies. Most of these families were illiterate or slightly educated and also were from lower occupations. Parents in these families were not aware of and attentive to the development of natural artistic inclinations of their children, if they had any. Or, even if some of them were aware of the natural gifts in their children, they found it difficult to help in their further development, mainly because of poverty.

Parents in the majority of advanced caste and some of the intermediate caste families were mindful of the artistic talents of their children and tried, to some extent, to help in their further development. These children were from highly educated families; their parents were aware of the importance of hobbies

9. One dumb boy in the sample family has recently won a prize in the competition of drawing and painting meant for children all over the world.

and the necessity of giving help in the development of the hobbies. Children in some of these families attended music classes to learn singing or dancing. Drawing and painting were taught as the optional subjects in all the schools; but only some of the children were gifted with these arts. Parents of some of these children could arrange for the special training of children in drawing and painting and encouraged them to appear for the Government examinations in drawing and painting.

Performance of 'Bhondla' by Girls

A reference must be made to the performance of 'Bhondla' ('Hadga'), a religious-cum-social entertainment of girls, which takes place in the month of October. The girls in the neighbourhood gather at each others house in the evening and perform singing and dancing round the figures of gods and the elephant drawn on a wooden board. These figures are drawn on the walls also. The performance takes place for ten days upto the 'Dassera' day. The number of songs sung during the play go on increasing every day and on the tenth day at least ten songs are to be sung. Sweets, fruits and other eatables are distributed to the girls at the end of this performance every day. (Small boys in the family and in neighbourhood also gather and wait for their share in the distribution of sweets, though they cannot take part in singing and dancing.) Some enthusiastic and well off mothers increase the number of sweets to be distributed every day; so there are at least ten eatables for distribution on the tenth day. Within about a fortnight after Dassera, or on the Dassera day, a feast (Bhatukali) is to be given to all the girls who attend this performance every day.

This entertainment was meant for the girls only; and that too, if the girls in the family were at least 2-3 years old, so that they could also take part in it. Some enthusiastic and affectionate mothers used to invite the girls in the neighbourhood to play 'Bhondla', even though their daughters were very small i.e. less than two years old. It was observed that 'Bhondla' was performed by the girls in their schools also. The girls in advanced and intermediate caste families were reported to perform this play. The respondednts in scheduled caste families used to state that this was a Brahmanical tradition

and they were not concerned with it. Thus, this was a regular practice among advanced caste families, though girls in some intermediate caste families also used to perform 'Bhondla'.

Educational and economic differences affected the manner of performance. The performance used to take place in a better way, i.e. with a variety of songs and eatables, among richer families. A few of the highly educated and Westernised families did not care to continue this tradition. But girls in the remaining advanced caste families performed this play every year.

Reading of Books and Magazines

Children love to listen to the stories of kings and queens, of demons and ghosts or of fairies from their grandparents or parents. They enjoy reading story books when they are able to read and write. There were only a few children's magazines like 'Anand' and 'Shalapatrak' and the books of mythological stories for children some years ago. In recent years, however, many new children's magazines like 'Chandoba', 'Mulanche Masik', 'Gokul', etc. are being published. Some writers have devoted themselves to writing the story and other books for children.

It was difficult for poorer parents to purchase books and magazines for their children. School-going children could borrow books from school libraries. There are only two public libraries for the children in the city. One of them is 'Anand magazine library' and the other one is 'Maharashtra Granthalaya'. Children can read books and magazines in these libraries and no fees are charged. But both these libraries are in the same locality and useful to children living nearby these libraries. More such libraries, well equipped with children's literature and scattered in different wards of the city will be highly welcomed by children. The Poona [Municipal Corporation has opened 27 free reading rooms for adults in various parts of the Corporation area. It may perhaps be possible for the Corporation to open a children's section, equipped with children's magazines and books in these libraries, particularly in view of the fact that reading rooms are located in the Corporation schools. The author has no knowledge about the number of books in the school libraries, but

even if these school libraries are well equipped this facility of public libraries or reading rooms will be an additional source of getting books for the young children.

Children in 240 (34.3%) families were very young and were not able to read and write. These children were below the age of six years. Children in 216 (30.9%) families did not read any books except their text books. Some of these children had just entered the schools and hence had not yet learnt to read magazines or books; while the remaining children could not get books and magazines for reading. Children in 226 (32.3%) families used to read children's books and magazines like 'Anand', 'Chandoba', 'Shalapatrak' and 'Mulanche Masik', etc. Children's books, magazines and newspapers were read by children in 14 (2%) families. These children were about 9 to 10 years old and could read newspapers also. Two boys from two of these families used to read detective story books in Marathi. Parents in 4 families used to read stories from magazines and books to their children who were very young and could not read by themselves.

Children in none of the scheduled caste families read either children's books or magazines. Parents in these families were illiterate or slightly educated and followed lower occupations. These parents were not able to spend money on buying books or magazines for their children. The number of such families was smaller in intermediate castes and was the smallest in advanced castes. Children in nearly 59 per cent of advanced caste families and 19 per cent of intermediate caste families used to read story books and magazines. It was noticed that children who could read books and magazines were from families in which either both the parents or at least the fathers were highly educated. These parents were aware of children's love for reading story books and magazines; they knew that this reading would be helpful in increasing the general knowledge of their children. In addition, the majority of these families belonged to middle and rich classes and hence could spend on buying books and magazines for their children.

Thus, the possibilities and types of recreation availed by children varied in different sample families. Various costly toys were owned by children in middle and rich class families;

while children in poorer families had to be satisfied with cheap toys or no toys at all; and they had to play games which did not require any play material.

The attitude of the educated parents towards the play activity of their children was, in a way, different from that of the uneducated parents. The educated parents appreciated the necessity and the value of play activity in the development of children and tried to make many recreational facilities available to them, e.g. they took the children for the evening walk, sent them to school trips as well as took them to trips and journeys with themselves. Children were taken to movies, to circus shows, to see toy forts, Rangoli and other exhibitions; they could listen to radio broadcasts, could read books and magazines; and also were encouraged to develop their talents if they had any, in singing, dancing, drawing, painting, etc. Of course, most of these families, as stated earlier, belonged to middle and rich classes and hence could afford to spend on children's entertainment.

The uneducated parents used to allow children to play any games they liked, but there was no attempt to channelise their play activity for the development of their knowledge and talents. As these parents were poor, they could not afford to children take for expensive recreations like cinemas, circus, school trips; nor could the children in these families listen to radio broadcasts or could read books and magazines or could follow any hobbies or extra-curricular activities. They were not even taken for the evening walk. But comparatively inexpensive entertainments such as visits to Ganapati, Palkhi festivities and religious fairs at Parvati and Chattersringi temples, etc. were availed of by children in these families. They occasionally visited their relatives living outside Poona, or went to school trips to nearby places.

There are many free entertainments like the visit to Phule Industrial Museum, or the Museum in the Commonwealth building in the city. Children from primary schools are usually taken to see these Museums. But since the information was not collected about all the places visited by children with school trips or with family members, it is not possible to say whether children in poor families (as well as in other families) visited these places of free entertainment.

EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS

The first five or six years of the children's life are considered as the most important period of personality development by the psychologists.¹ The emotional development of the child is influenced by the personality of its parents and siblings, their attitude towards one another and towards the child. When the child enters a school, its teachers and playmates further shape its personality.

Some of the problems of the emotional adjustment of children will be discussed in this chapter. The best method for this assessment would have been to interview each child; but it was not within the resources of money, time and the knowledge of the author. Hence only a few questions were asked to the mothers and the answers received from them are detailed below.

Fear Complex in Children

Marathi proverbs and songs record the bogey man (called 'Bagul Boova' in Marathi) as a figure with which children are threatened. Dogs are represented as a possible menace and cats may scratch, though they are not constantly used as a dog to frighten children. In Poona where the rabid dogs are

1. This notion has been challenged by Bossard in his book 'Parent and Child.'

Parent and Child, J.H.S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1953, p. 294.

known to wander sometimes in the streets, the fear of a dog is very genuine. The bogey man is supposed to be a man with a bag who carries children away. Sometimes he is represented as a beggar too. The author remembers such threats from her own childhood; so the questions were put in this particular way.

Children were threatened with a bogey man or a beggar if they did not stop crying or if they did not go to sleep till late in the evening. The majority of respondents, however, denied to have threatened children in this way but 201 (28.7%) respondents confessed that they used to threaten children with a bogey man.

It was observed that a lesser number of highly educated respondents threatened their children with a bogey man. The percentage of respondents threatening their children with a bogey man was higher in illiterate or slightly educated families, with one exception. i.e. of the families in grade VII. In this grade, the percentage of families, threatening children with a bogey man was as high as was obtained in illiterate families. But, on the whole, educated parents were more careful to see that they did not create fear complex in the minds of their children. They were aware of the ill-effects of such threats on children. The illiterate or less educated parents did not think about the ill-effects of such threats on children in later life.

Forms of Punishment

A question was put to the respondents as to how they tried to discipline their children if they behaved obstinately. Parents reacted in different manner to the obstinacy or temper tantrums of children. Some parents tried to argue and convince their children that it was not good to be obstinate, others scolded their children for obstinacy, some other parents used to beat their children. The other methods of punishment were : not to give food to children or not to talk to them or to shut them in a bathroom or to burn their hands or feet, etc. Enquiries were not made whether these punishments reduced further occurrences of obstinacy of children and which of the methods led to the desired results without doing any harm to children. However, the answers of the respondents are quoted

TABLE 8.1 Threatening of children in the sample by the parents classified according to their education

Education of parents	Fear created in children		
	No fear created	Fear about bogey-man, cats, dogs	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Both illiterate	31 (35.23)	57 (64.77)	88
2. Wife illiterate, husband upto 7th std. primary	57 (48.3)	61 (51.7)	118
3. Wife illiterate, husband upto matriculation, graduation or above	10 (45.45)	12 (54.55)	22
4. Wife 4th std. primary, husband upto 7th std. primary	23 (31.5)	50 (68.5)	73
5. Wife 4th std. primary, husband upto matriculation, graduation or above	19 (48.7)	20 (51.3)	39
6. Both upto 7th std. primary	13 (37.1)	22 (62.9)	35
7. Wife 7th std. primary, husband upto matriculation, graduation or above	40 (34.19)	77 (65.81)	117
8. Both upto matriculation, graduation or above	127 (61.0)	81 (39.0)	208
Total	320	380	700

below.

The respondents in 227 (32.4%) families at first persuaded children to leave their temper tantrums, then scolded them and as a last resort, beat their children. Eighty-eight (12.5%) families used to persuade and scold their children while 316 (45.1%) families used to beat their children if they behaved obstinately. Thus, it could be seen that more parents resorted to beating their children, while lesser number of them used persuasion and scolding to check the obstinacy of their children.

The majority of parents who tried to find out the cause of children's obstinacy and then tried to persuade the children from being obstinate, were from advanced castes. Some of them were from intermediate castes. Either both the parents or at least the fathers in these families were educated, some of them having high school and college education. These parents were aware that the beating was not the best way of curing obstinacy of children; rather it might have ill-effect on children's behaviour. Hence, these parents avoided use of corporal punishment and preferred measures like persuasion and scolding, etc. On the contrary, scheduled and intermediate caste families which were also uneducated or slightly educated, used beating as the only method of bringing children to books. Parents from one illiterate family of intermediate caste used to burn the hands of their children when they behaved obstinately. It was, of course, a cruel practice, but was used by only a few hot-headed mothers.

Obedience to parents and other family members is expected of children in all societies, though the degrees of obedience and forms of punishment for disobedience may vary in different cultures. A Greek child may be struck with a stick by the father or his mother may shout at him, pull his ears or threaten to kill him.² Among the tribal people in South Africa (The Tiv of South Nigeria) the punishment for impudence of children is given in retaliation than for disciplining the children.³

2. "Cultural Patterns and Technical Change", Ed. Margaret Mead, UNESCO, Paris, p. 100.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Harsh forms of punishment such as beating, burning, are bound to affect children's emotional adjustments in the family, in the school and in the society. Of course, it does not necessarily mean that beating is always more cruel than scolding the children. The effect of sharp words on children may be more injurious or may leave deeper marks on children's mind than beating can leave scars on their bodies.⁴ But sometimes physical punishments are too severe for young children. The author used to see many such incidences of beating of children on her repeated visits to some of the localities.

More often, such punishments were not always in proportion of the gravity of children's offences. At times punishments depended on parents, mood or temperament. The child was more sure to get a slap, if it voiced some fantastic demands, when its mother was about to take rest after heavy chores of cooking and other household work. Some parents were more tolerant by nature than others. However, one would expect parents to understand the working of children's mind before punishing them and not vice versa.

Obedience to Family Members

Another question that was put to the respondents was, who could control children if they behaved obstinately. Usually children obeyed someone in the family, more frequently their fathers, either through love or through fear. Children, being in closer contact with mothers, were not so much afraid of them. On the contrary, children were away from their fathers for the major part of the day and hence were rather afraid to disobey them. In joint families, the disciplinarian role was, at times, taken up by grandparents or uncles and aunts. In some families, older children disciplined their younger siblings. No detailed study as to on what occasions children obeyed or disobeyed fathers was made. The reference was made to the general behaviour traits of children.

It was noted that children in the majority of sample families obeyed their fathers and could be controlled by them.

4. *Cruelty to Children*, Dr. Eustance Chesser, Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London, 1951, p. 30.

Whenever their mothers found that children did not obey them, they referred these cases to the husbands who in turn would make children obey the wishes of the mothers. In other cases, children were controlled by mothers, grandparents or uncles, aunts, etc. In 6 families children obeyed the older siblings because their fathers were not living and hence the older children in the family used to look after young children.

Children in 120 (17.1%) families were not controlled by anybody in the family. Some of these children were too young; hence there were no occasions to control them; some other children were not disobedient and hence there was no necessity to control their behaviour. In some of the families, however, children were too much pampered by their parents. These children behaved as they liked and nobody could control them or punish them. These were, in a majority of cases, the only children in the family and hence these children were pampered, all their wishes were fulfilled by the parents and there were no occasions to control them for disobedience.

No significant difference in the pattern of controlling the behaviour of children was noted in families belonging to different caste groups and different educational grades. The percentage of families, in which children obeyed their fathers, was higher in scheduled caste families. This was because there were less number of joint families, in which the disciplinarian role could be undertaken by someone else than parents, in scheduled caste group.

Just as the children were disciplined by someone in the family, so also they were fondled and pampered by someone else in the family. Generally, the fathers disciplined the children while the mothers fondled them. These roles played by both the parents were supplementary to each other. If children wanted sweets or toys, they would first entreat their mothers and failing to get them from mothers, they might think of entreating their fathers for it. Of course, exceptions to this were also found. In some families, mothers assumed the disciplinarian role, while fathers might play the opposite role. If there was the only child in the family, both the parents might be fond of it and grandparents or uncles, aunts disciplined the children or vice versa. In joint families, usually the grand-

parents used to fondle their grandchildren and hence children used to approach their grandparents first, if they wanted sweets or toys.

Children in the majority of sample families entreated their mothers for obtaining the things they wanted while in the remaining families children entreated their fathers, or both the parents or to their uncles, aunts, grandparents etc. The children in 39 (5.57%) families were very young, their ages being approximately below nine months. There was not much difference in this behaviour trait of children in different caste groups. The percentage of children entreating their mothers was less in advanced and intermediate caste families. The reason for this was that there were more joint families in these caste groups; and the children could approach their grandparents, uncles, aunts or all the family members; whereas there were slightly more nuclear families in scheduled castes and hence children were petted by their mothers in a majority of cases.

Patterns of Behaviour with Guests

It was observed that children in about 1/3 of the sample families were shy with strangers. Usually, children pass through the stages of shyness and boldness. They may be shy in their early age but some of them may become bold as they grow a little older; while other children may continue to be shy even when they grow up. Others may be shy in the beginning but may mix up with the guests once they get acquainted with them. The replies of the mothers were their personal opinions about children's nature at that particular time and did not give any idea about the change in this trait in children's nature, if there was any change at all.

Children in the majority of medium and highly educated families were social and mixed up with guests; while those in illiterate families were shy with strangers. The reason for this difference was that educated families had more occasions to receive guests and to visit them in return. Hence children in these families had a training and opportunities to mix up with strangers. Even if some of these children were shy they could overcome their shyness when they had the occasions to receive

TABLE 8.2 Sociability of children in the sample families classified according to the education of parents

Education of parents	Behaviour traits of children					
	Shy	Shy in the beginning only	Bold	Some shy, others bold	Children were too young	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Both illiterate	48 (54.54)	—	38 (43.17)	—	2 (2.3)	88
2. Wife illiterate, husband upto 7th std. primary	45 (38.1)	—	69 (58.47)	—	4 (3.4)	118
3. Wife illiterate, husband upto matriculation, graduation or above	8 (36.4)	—	13 (59.1)	—	1 (4.5)	22
4. Wife 4th std. primary, husband upto 7th std. primary	32 (43.8)	1 (1.37)	33 (45.2)	2 (2.74)	5 (6.85)	73
5. Wife 4th std. primary, husband upto matriculation graduation, or above	11 (28.22)	—	26 (66.66)	1 (2.56)	1 (2.56)	39
6. Both upto 7th std. primary	17 (48.5)	—	18 (51.4)	—	—	35
7. Wife 7th std. primary, husband upto matriculation, graduation or above	32 (27.7)	1 (0.85)	78 (66.66)	—	6 (5.13)	117
8. Both upto matriculation, graduation or above	32 (15.38)	7 (3.37)	156 (75.0)	3 (1.44)	10 (4.8)	208
Total	255	9	431	6	29	700

and mix up with strangers, guests, etc.

The relatives who come on a visit to the family often bring some gifts for children. The friends and acquaintances may also bring gifts for children when they visit the families. As a part of disciplining, children are taught not to accept gifts, unless guests insist too much. Disciplined children do not accept gifts or money from guests, unless their parents permit them to do so. On accepting the gifts children are expected to hand them over to the parents. The sweets are afterwards distributed among all children in the family. This pattern of discipline was not observed in all families. Some parents did not thrust any norms on children, while some others tried to discipline the children but their children did not obey them. Such children would eat the sweets, received from guests, immediately; and would either hand over the money received from guests to their parents or they would buy the sweets with that money.

Children in 392 (56.%) families were well disciplined. They used to hand over their gifts to the parents. Children in 139 (19.9%) families used to eat sweets and hand over money to the parents, while those in 37 (5.3%) families used to eat sweets offered by the guests and used to buy sweets with the money received as a gift from the guests. In nearly 15 per cent of the families children had no occasions to receive gifts. In 16 families, children did not use to accept gifts from the guests, even on receiving permission of the parents to accept the gifts.

Children from a majority of advanced caste and highly educated families were disciplined in this respect. They used to obey their parents by handing over the gifts to them. Children in intermediate and scheduled caste families, which were uneducated or slightly educated, had lesser occasions to receive such gifts; as the friends' circle of these families was comparatively smaller. Out of these, the children in scheduled caste and uneducated families were less disciplined and used to eat sweets by themselves; while some of them used to buy sweets with the gift money, without even caring for the permission of parents. Parents in intermediate caste and medium educated families tried to discipline their children, but only some of the children obeyed their parents while the others used

to behave as they liked.

Help received in looking after Children

Parents have to constantly look after children in their infancy and childhood. This task mainly falls on the shoulders of mothers though other family members also share this responsibility. Women take rest for some period after delivery. During this period they can wholly devote themselves to the care of infants. But afterwards they have to cook and do other household work also. In joint families, even if the mothers are busy doing some household work, children are looked after by the grandparents, uncles, aunts, etc. Mothers in nuclear families are at a slight disadvantage, because they alone have to face both the fronts, with whatever little help given by the husbands and older children. In olden days, husbands seldom used to look after children there being perfect division of work that men should earn livelihood and women should do all household work and should also look after children. The introduction of the Western education brought in its wake certain Western ideologies on child care and hence the situation has now changed. Now-a-days husbands also help in taking care of children, depending, of course, on such factors as their business hours, etc.

The older children also helped in taking care of their younger siblings. This was prominently found in uneducated and poorer families. This work of baby-tending was usually done by girls, but in rare cases by boys also. This type of situation was obtained in the primitive society of the people of Samoa⁵ and in the slum localities in England.⁶ But quite different

5. "The chief nurse-maid is usually a child of six or seven who is not strong enough to lift a baby over six months old, but who can carry the child straddling on the left hip or on the girth of the back.... Their diminutive nurses do not encourage children to walk as babies who can walk about are more complicated charges."—*Coming of Age in Samoa*, Margaret Mead, Jonathan Cape, London, 1929, p. 22.
6. "There are groups of children playing hopscotch and marbles, some sitting on doorsteps minding babies and watching the play." *These Our Children*, A. Collis and Vera E. Poole, Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1950, p. 56.

situation was obtained in New Guinea families, where older children were not expected to take care of younger children.⁷ In better off families, children were occasionally required to look after younger children, but it was not considered as their responsibility to do so.

Nearly 1/3rd of the sample families were single families, and as such women in these families had alone to look after their children, with whatever help they could have from their husbands and older children. Women in 109 (15.57%) families stated that they did not receive help from anyone else in the family in looking after the children. Husbands in 184 (26.3%) families used to help to some extent in taking care of children. In 128 (18.3%) families older siblings were helpful in this respect. In 214 (30.57%) cases, husbands and older children used to look after younger children. In joint families the parents-in-law, brothers and sisters-in-law also shared this responsibility. Forty-four (6.3%) such cases were obtained in the sample. In 11 cases, parents of the respondents used to live with them and they were also helpful in taking care of young children.

Thus, the majority of women in sample families received help from other family members in taking care of their children. Of course, these respondents were housewives only and hence they could devote themselves to the child care and household work. But the problem was rather complicated in cases of employed or working women. This problem will be dealt with at the end of this chapter.

Help from Servants in Child Care

Some of the sample families employed servants to look after children in their infancy. These were mostly middle and rich class families. The rich families employed servants, even

7. "Older children do not take care of younger ones. Younger ones are not allowed to accompany the older ones because, say the mothers, 'If the babies cried to be brought home, it would interrupt the older children's play.'... The household constellation is therefore not a series of children each dependent upon the next older, each cherishing the next younger, as in Samoa, but a group of each of whom centres his or her interest in the father, and secondarily, in the mother."

Growing up in New Guinea, Margaret Mead, Penguin Books, 1942.

if there were many relatives in the family to look after the children. Employing a servant to look after children was a luxury for a rich housewife but it was a necessity for a middle class housewife in the nuclear family, particularly, if she was an earning member. Some of the women in sample families did not like to entrust the work of looking after children to the servants. They feared that the servants might inculcate some unhygienic habits in the children. So they employed servants to do household work and cooking, while they themselves devoted full attention to the children.

The servants employed to look after children gave them a bath, changed their clothes, played with them, took them for a walk, reached children to their schools and brought them back from schools. Women needed the help of servants whenever there were guests to entertain or while they were busy in cooking, etc. or when they had to go out for some work where they could not take children with them.

The children were not with servants for 24 hours of the day. Still they could influence in forming behaviour patterns in children.⁸ These servants usually came from the lower strata of the society and had habits which were at variance with those of the families which employed them. The detailed enquiries were not made about the influence of servants on children's behaviour; but passing references were made to this problem by some of the respondents. These respondents stated that their children tried to learn smoking 'bidi'⁹ or use of abusive language from the servants. Of course, the parents punished their children on this account and the children might have forgotten these bad habits.

The majority of sample families did not have servants to look after children. Only 39 (5.57%) families employed servants to look after children. The poor students living in two families helped in looking after children. Women in 15 families

8. "The family that conditions the development of the child is the group that lives together...This includes, then, not only the parents, but also any relatives, friends, servants, etc. who are living with the family."

Parent and Child, J.H.S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1953, p. 51.

9. *Bidi*: Leaf-wrapped cigarette.

employed servants for cooking and doing other household work when their children were very young. They were thus able to devote themselves to looking after their children. The families which employed servants for looking after children were in a majority of cases from advanced castes, which were highly educated and followed higher occupations. These were the families which could afford to employ servants which was a luxury in some cases, while it was a necessity in other cases.

The majority of women in sample families, being housewives, did not necessarily have to leave children at home for long hours as the working woman had to do. But they had occasionally to go out for marketing, for visits to relatives and friends, to attend some functions or celebrations. It was not always convenient to take children with them; hence women preferred to keep children at home if there was someone to look after them. If there was nobody at home to take care of children, women avoided going out, unless they had some important work to do.

Problem of Child Care of the Working Women

The working women, however, could not avoid going out. Women who were in services or in professions could not take the children to their offices. Children who were above three years could be sent to pre-primary schools; but the problem of younger children was rather difficult if there was no one else in the family to look after them. There is no system of baby-sitters in India and creches are found only in big mills and factories. The creche in Kasba ward caters mainly for children of the Municipal workers.

An instance was quoted earlier of a woman working in a factory at Kirkee, who used to keep her two younger children in the custody of her eight year old daughter. The women in the neighbourhood also used to see that children did not go out of the house. Another instance could be quoted of a woman from advanced caste who was employed as a teacher in a private school. She had a son of two years, whom she used to leave at her parent's home before going to the school and used to bring him home when her school was over in the evening. The distance from her home to the school via her

mother's house was five miles, while it was about three miles directly.

The situation was rather different in cases of women who worked as casual labourers. Two types of arrangements were made by such workers. Some of them used to take infants with them, the others used to leave them at home. The infant who was taken along was generally placed in a basket lined with clothes with more clothing on the top of infant and the mother used to come and feed it whenever it cried. Women who used to purchase and sell second hand goods like empty bottles and tins used to carry their infants in shawls which were tied round the neck. (This type of method for carrying infants existed among the Alorese people).¹⁰ The infants could be fed, even while mothers walked on the streets, doing their job of sale and purchase of empty bottles and tins. The mothers of the infants who were left at home used to work as domestic servants (to scurve pots and pans) in the neighbourhood of their residences and used to come home after every two-three hours to feed their children. If there was no one else in the family to look after the children while the mothers were away, the children were either locked inside the house till the mothers' return or the houses were locked and the children played outside, waiting for the mothers to return.¹¹

10. *The People of Alor*, Cora DuBois, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1944.

11. In India, the pattern of taking the children on the work site is found among some castes as an invariable practice. The Vaddars (earth workers) in Poona are seen working on construction works in such a way that the whole family is on the work site. Father and mother work, while the children from infants upto the age of ten are put under a tree and are left to amuse themselves. The mother comes now and then to feed an infant and the family, including the father, gather together at a lunch pause for eating. Apparently, the same type of practice is found in Gujarat, among working gangs who carry a wooden cradle for the infant to the work site. Mrs. Karve reports seeing such cradles at the work sites, on her anthropological rounds in Gujarat. This again makes clear what Mrs. Karve described in her latest book as a variety of cultural patterns.

In rural India also women usually take their children to the fields while they work, unless there was someone else at home to look after them. However, while doing the survey in villages in a National

Thus, the working class women (i.e. those women who used to work as casual labourers, domestic servants etc.) had their own arrangements of taking care of children while they were engaged in doing work. But it appeared that the change in the role of women (who were in services and in professions, etc.), which required them to share the task of bread-winning also, had not evenly rearranged their traditional responsibility of minding home and hearth. The pinch of this extra burden was not felt by those women who were compensated in some other ways, e.g. in some families servants or other family members might help in cooking or in taking care of children while some other families might be using time saving devices in cooking, etc. The women who were not compensated in the manner described above, found it difficult to adjust the household work, care of children and their services.

Pattern of Child Care of the Non-working Women

On being questioned whether the respondents used to go out leaving their children indoors, about 70% of the respondents told that they did not go out anywhere. They used to take their children with them whenever they went out. Hundred and thirty-eight (19.7%) women used to go out on visits to their relatives and friends or for marketing, etc. Women in 12 (1.7%) families used to attend clubs in the evening, leaving their children at home; while women in 24 (3.4%) families used to go to offices and 30 (4.3%) women went out to places of their work. Eight women used to go out to attend embroidery or music classes; but this was usually for one or two hours in a day. One woman used to go out for doing honorary welfare work in an institution; but all her

Extension Block in Thana District, the author received the following information. In some of these villages, there was a custom to appoint an old woman, usually the one who had no other resources of livelihood, to take care of infants and children of the women who had to go out to work in the fields along with their husbands; and there was no one else at home to look after the children. This woman was paid in kind once in a year for her help. She was given a fixed quantity of rice, a saree, cloth for blouse and a bottle of hair oil, etc. after the harvesting season.

children were of school-going age and she used to go out when her children had gone to schools.

More respondents from advanced caste families used to go out on visits to relatives or to attend clubs or music and embroidery classes, etc. and used to keep their children at home. The tendency among intermediate and scheduled caste women was to remain indoors except, of course, those women who had to go out for earning their bread. Some of these women used to keep their children indoors, some others used to take children with them when they went out for work.

It was noted that more women who were highly educated, used to go out on visits to friends and relatives or to attend sewing, embroidery, music classes, leaving their children at home. The majority of illiterate or slightly educated women preferred to remain indoors, if there was no one else to look after children in their absence or used to take their children with them wherever they went. The working women used to take their children with them or to leave them at home as was convenient for them.

To sum up, no psychiatric tests were applied to find out the normal behaviour patterns and the causes of emotional mal-adjustments, if any, in the children in sample families. But passing references made to these problems revealed that uneducated parents did not pay much attention to the emotional needs and adjustments of children. Threatening children with a bogey man was thought of and used as the easiest method to pacify them; but parents did not think about the probable undesirable effects of such threats on children's behaviour. No attempt was made by the parents to anticipate the repercussions of their ways of controlling children. Naughtiness or wrong behaviour of children was either severely punished or was totally ignored. Generally, no norms were prescribed, and even if children were occasionally told to behave properly, parents were not careful to see that children observed these norms. This impression was gathered from the replies given to the question of acceptance of gifts from guests by the children.

Educated parents, on the other hand, were certainly cautious in employing punishments for misbehaviour of children and

spanking was sparingly used by them. Parents were careful to guide children in following behaviour patterns which were considered proper and normal in that particular class of society e.g. children in these families were not expected to accept gifts from guests and certainly not to eat sweets by themselves without first handing them over to their parents or without sharing with other siblings. Children in these families were less shy and were social, because they had occasions to receive guests at their home. Thus, these parents were more attentive to the emotional needs of children and tried to help them in cases of certain maladjustments.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS

“The culture of tomorrow will be increasingly child centred.”

A. Gessel

The study of child care practices in Maharashtrian Hindu families in Poona was carried on during the period from September 1954 to January 1956. It was not possible to select the sample families on the basis of random sampling method for various reasons mentioned in the introduction. However, every attempt was made to make sample as representative as possible by selecting families from different wards and castes. Care was also taken to see that the selected families were from different income groups (i.e. they followed different occupations) and belonged to various educational levels.

These families were grouped in four caste groups, viz. (a) Advanced : This group included Brahmin and C.K.P. families. (b) Intermediate : In this group were included the families of Marathas and artisan castes. (c) Scheduled : Mahar, Mang, Bhangi, Dhed, Chambhar and Vaddar caste families were included in this group. (d) Miscellaneous : This group included families from other provinces in India as well as those which belonged to other religions.

These families were classified into the following occupational categories : (a) Unskilled labourers, (b) Skilled labourers, (c) Craftsmen, artisans, (d) Small businessmen, (e) Clerks, teachers and police, etc. (f) Higher salaried class, (g) Pro-

professionals and businessmen and (h) Well-to-do. The income range of these families varied from approximately Rs. 100 or less than that, to Rs. 1,000 per month.

Attempts were made to choose families from all wards in the city but some of the wards like Nana, Bhavani, Ghorpade, Gultekdi, etc. with heterogeneous population (belonging to all states, religions, etc.) were not represented in the sample. Both the husbands and wives in 13 per cent of the sample families were illiterate, while those in other families had primary or high school education and college education as well.

Several aspects of child care were taken into consideration while preparing the questionnaire. Information was collected about the care of women during pregnancy and after delivery, celebrations of social and religious festivities for women and children; food habits and care of personal hygiene of children; educational and recreational facilities made available to them and about the attention paid to the emotional adjustments of children, etc.

The study of sample families revealed that there was no uniformity in child rearing practices in these families. Of course, the basic pattern of child care practices was uniform, as could be expected in any culture; but the difference in these practices was noted in different sub-cultures. The two main trends were evident; the one that was followed by (A) advanced caste families which were highly educated and which belonged to middle and rich class (i.e. followed higher occupations), and the other one was noted in the (B) scheduled caste families which were uneducated or slightly educated and were poor. The remaining group was of intermediate caste families; of these, the educated and well-to-do families had child-rearing practices much similar to those followed by the group (A); while the uneducated and poor families amongst them brought up the children in a fashion more or less similar to the one followed by families in group (B).

The main points of similarities and differences in the family environment and the child-rearing pattern in these sub-cultures will be described in the following paragraphs :

(A) Spacious and sufficient living space and the comforts of independent sanitary facilities, electric light and cultural

amenities such as books and magazines for reading, radio and gramophone, etc. for entertainment were found in these families. Some of these families owned motor cars, motor cycles, telephones, musical instruments, etc.

Women in these families were carefully looked after during pregnancy; they took nutritive food and sufficient rest before and after delivery. Some aspects of traditional pattern of taking care of puerperal women were replaced by modern scientific methods (e.g. more deliveries took place in hospitals and were conducted by trained nurses or doctors in places of untrained midwives); but some of the useful (or rather not harmful) traditional practices such as an oil massage before bath and the preparations of special diet, etc. were still retained.

Children were shown a lot of indulgence through various ritual practices in which children themselves were the chief figures. Pregnant women also received certain traditional indulgences which were based on old Hindu beliefs that carrying mothers needed to be kept happy and contented so that the child also was born healthy and happy. It was noted that the old ritual practices were not strictly adhered to in any of these families, except those in which there were people of older generation like grandparents on father's or mother's side, etc. In cases where the children lived with young parents, many of the ritual practices had fallen into disuse. The old ritual practices, however, had not completely vanished but survived in attenuated and modified forms. In some cases, these practices had been replaced by modern, western practices like birthday parties which were celebrated with cakes and candles in some of the families.

The parents were keen to see that the children were given some elementary education at home; they admitted the children in pre-primary and primary schools at the proper age; and some more enthusiastic parents helped their children to skip a grade or two in primary schools and to complete school studies at an early age. Attention was paid to the extra-curricular activities of children and various recreational facilities were made available to them. The rich families could purchase expensive toys, take children to movies, exhibitions

and circus shows, send them to school trips and could undertake journeys to various places along with their children. The middle class families also tried to make various recreational facilities available to their children.

Child care was, to some extent at least, shared by male parents; older children were also helpful in baby-tending but it was not considered as their responsibility. In joint families the other family members such as parents-in-law and brothers and sisters-in-law, etc. shared the responsibility of looking after children. Parents and other older family members tried to discipline the children by prescribing certain norms of behaviour. Children were expected to behave in a certain manner under given circumstances. Parents were also careful to see that children observed these norms and punished the deviant children. Normally milder forms of punishments were used by the parents; and the corporal punishment was resorted to only in cases of extremely serious offences of children. Children were also shown indulgence in some respects; e.g. children were consulted while purchasing clothes for them; they were taken to movies of their choice, etc.

(B) The pattern observed in the other group of families was as follows :

Children in these families were brought up in a very limited living space, had to share sanitary facilities with the other tenants (except those who lived in the new servants quarters of the Sassoon Hospital). These families used kerosene lanterns while only some of them used electricity. Only a few pieces of furniture were owned by some of the families while others had no furniture at all. They did not purchase newspapers or books. Only a few of these families owned radios and/or phonographs, etc.

Women in these families did not take special care of their health during pregnancy. They did not visit the clinics for checking their health nor did they take necessary medicines and special diet during pregnancy. It was not possible to find out the proportion of maternal and infant mortality that occurred in the poorer families due to negligence and lack of proper medical help, as families having living mothers only were selected in this survey. These women could not take sufficient rest.

after deliveries; nor could they take nutritive food, oil massage or tonics and other medicines.

No indulgences were shown to the children or mothers through celebrations of various ritual practices. Scheduled castes were prohibited from celebrating the rituals of high caste-Hindus, except the ceremony of 'Caula' which was performed for boys and girls in these families. The naming ceremony was performed in the most simple manner by inviting five married women in the neighbourhood. The intermediate caste families from this group were allowed to and did perform Upanayana ceremony of their children. Birthdays were celebrated by some of the intermediate caste families, but not by scheduled caste-families.

Women were not careful to give habit training to their children, but gave some elementary instructions about personal hygiene and left children to themselves to bring them into practice. Children were breast fed even upto their toddler age, in some cases, upto late childhood; but no other milk formed part of their diet, once the mother's breasts dried up. These women had no knowledge about the use of indigenous medicines. They usually ignored ordinary illnesses of children and treated them at Government or Municipal dispensaries in their serious illnesses only. They had no knowledge about early symptoms of some of the oft-occurring children's ailments; and were also ignorant of administering any treatment on the spot in emergencies.

Education of children was not given so much importance as was found in the other group of families. Children were seldom given coaching at home in pre-school stage; and the progress of school-going children was not properly watched. Children did not receive any help in their studies from their parents, while slightly better off families appointed teachers to coach their children.

These parents, being poor, could not afford to purchase costly toys and games material for their children. The range of recreational facilities of these children was limited to inexpensive toys and games, to school trips to nearby places, visits to religious fairs and other local festivities like 'Ganapati' and 'Palkhi', etc. The attitude of parents towards the play

activity of children was markedly different from that of parents in other group of families. These parents did not appreciate the value of play activity in the physical and mental development of children; and as such, children in these families were denied a variety of entertainments that were enjoyed by children in the first group.

Older children, mainly the girls, were the nurse-maids of younger children and had many times to curtail their play activity to mind young children. The male parents occasionally helped in looking after children. Parents were little aware of probable ill-effects of their threatening or beating children and used these measures frequently. Children were disciplined by parents in a haphazard manner and no care was taken to see that children observed the prescribed norms of behaviour.

This, in short, was the picture of child-rearing practices, with variations and similarities in families belonging to different castes, occupations and educational groups.

The investigation was undertaken with a view to find out the child-rearing and child-training patterns in Maharashtrian Hindu families. The information about child care was collected from the mothers; and information about their school progress was also gathered from the mothers and not from the teachers in schools attended by these children.

Infancy and childhood is a period of physical growth and personality development. The modal or basic personality is a product of interaction of human biological and social heritage, i.e. of man's organic capacities and his experiences in the group life. Every child is born with a unique combination of chromosomes and genes inherited from its parents; and its adult personality is developed through the experiences in childhood. The cases of wolf children¹ and the experiments of bringing up

1. "One of the most interesting of the feral cases involved two Hindu children who...were discovered in a wolf den. The younger child died within a few months of discovery, but the elder, Kamala, as she became named, survived until 1929...Kamala brought with her almost none of the traits that we associate with human behaviour. She could walk only on all fours, possessed no language save wolf-like growls, and was shy of humans as was any other undomesticated animal."—*Society*, MacIver and Page, MacMillan and Co., Ltd, London, 1949, p. 45.

the young ones of a chimpanzee along with the human infants. draw attention to the value of early environment in the development of a child.

The feeding and protection from physical harms are the minimum necessities for the survival of infants. But the patterns of fulfilment of these necessities differ in various cultures and sub-cultures. The pattern found in some of the cultures may be described as quite unsatisfactory from the point of view of the demands of infants. The treatment received by Alorese infants may be cited as an example in this connection.² Women in this society had to go out for work within a fortnight after delivery, leaving their children at home in the custody of the fathers or older siblings. The mothers could breast feed or fondle them only after coming home from the work. According to the author, the result was that the child had "no opportunity to become attached to any person, even to its mother."³

In the present sample, a child was rarely neglected as regards its feeding time. The working mothers who were in service or in professions were at a disadvantage, because they had continuously to be out for specific hours and had to make substitute arrangements for feeding their children. Those women who worked as casual labourers could make it convenient to attend to children's feeding by taking the children with them; or, if left at home, by coming home to feed them after every two or three hours. It was noted earlier that the proportion of working mothers was very small in the sample; and even though these mothers went out keeping their children at home, it resulted in children becoming more and more attached to

2. "Among these Indonesian people, a woman in planting season returned to her gardening duties ten to fourteen days after she has given birth (DuBois, 1944; 34-35; Kardiner, 1945; 130-131). The mother does not take her baby along to the field but leaves him at home in care of the father, older siblings or grandmother. Such babies frequently become hungry during the time they remain at home. The person charged with their care feeds them pre-masticated food, but this is often rejected by the infant, who reaches for the nipple to which he has become accustomed from earlier contact with the mother."—*Culture and Personality*, J.J. Honingmann, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1954, p. 237.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

their mothers. These mothers reported that children used to wait for their return from work and would remain in as much bodily contact with them as was possible.

Quite different situation is observed in some other cultures. Children are shown so much indulgence in childhood that they become accustomed to gratification and are never required to experience restrictions. An example may be mentioned of children of Trobrianders. According to Kardiner, these children have the permissive childhood which gives the individual a low frustration threshold.⁴

This type of indulgence was not shown consciously in any of the sample families. Not a single mother was found who had neither scolded nor beaten her child. Indulgent parents, willing to satisfy whims of their children, were found in all caste groups. Indulgence was shown in case of an only child, particularly if it was a boy. Among the higher castes, there was much concern about putting children into certain cultural framework such as in practising the habits of cleanliness, in attending schools and in studying regularly, in following certain behaviour patterns while talking with the relatives, neighbours or with teachers, students, etc. This involved persuasion and punishment as well. On the other hand, among lower castes and poorer families, the parents, though occasionally prescribed certain norms of behaviour, were not zealous to enforce them, but left children to their own devices. This could not be termed as indulgence but as their inability to look after children. This could neither be termed as conscious negligence nor as conscious indulgence.

Different hypotheses have been put forward to explain the relationship of peculiarities of child rearing in any culture and their effect on personality development of children in that culture. The problem has been approached from different angles by different workers in field.⁵ In genetic approach, for example, the study centres round the relationship of ethos to the childhood experiences. The names of Gorer and Erikson

4. *Culture and Personality*, J.J. Honingmann, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1954, p. 239.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

may be mentioned in this connection. Gorer has shown the relationship of behaviour patterns of an adult Russian to the childhood experience. The swaddling of infants among the Russians (among peasants) was one of the factors mentioned in this connection by him. Infants were swaddled in long strips of cloth so as to bind the legs straight and to keep arms extended at the sides of the body. Gorer related the swaddling to certain behaviour traits of adult Russians.⁶ Also he had established relationship between the early toilet training and the Japanese adult personality.

Of course, these hypotheses have been challenged on various grounds. R. Benedict, for example, has shown that swaddling has different interpretations in different communities.⁷ A recent study of Indian personality by Carstairs is found in 'Twice Born'. The author of this book has made a study of three castes in the state of Rajasthan. But none of the above mentioned books has been able to establish convincing connections between overall cultural patterns and individual human personality.

No hypothesis was presented in the present study; but the author tried to conduct a pilot survey to find out facts about child rearing practices and to present a picture of actual practices of child care as found in various families belonging to different castes and to different economic and educational grades. Further studies, based on this pilot survey, will be very useful. One such study that comes to the author's mind is that of finding out similarities and differences in sub-cultural personality structures, based on the lines of investigation conducted by B.M. Spinley, the results of which are given in the book, "The Deprived and the Privileged".

6. "He reasons that the constriction of movements imposed by swaddling is extremely frustrating and reacted to with intense destructive rage which finds little possibility of physical expression...at the same time the child fears that if he were to gratify these destructive wishes, he would be destroyed in the same way." *Culture and Personality*, J.J. Honingmann, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1954, p. 51
7. *Ibid.*

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

CHILD IN HOME AND SCHOOL

A. Information about the family

Questions for children's mother :

1. Full name and address
2. Education : self 2. (a) Husband
3. Occupation : self 3. (a) Husband
4. Year of marriage 5. Age at marriage :
(a) Husband (b) Self
6. Family members :
Husband, wife, daughters, sons, mother-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law, their wives and children, sister-in-law
7. Husband's relatives living separately in Poona or outside Poona
8. Wife's (respondent's) relatives :
Mother, father, brothers, sisters-in-law, their children, sisters, grand-mother, grand-father
9. Do respondent's relatives live in Poona or outside Poona?
10. Living quarters : (a) Self-owned (b) Rented
11. Number of rooms, how situated ?
12. How many other tenants live in the building ?
13. Do you have independent water-closet, bath-room and water pipe ?
14. If not, how many other sharers ?

15. Furniture : Sofa set, chairs, benches, writing table, almirah, cupboards, swing, dressing table, etc.
16. Are there electric lights in the living quarters ? If yes, whether less than required/as many as required/or more than required ?
17. Do you own a radio and/or a phonograph ?
18. Do you own a sewing machine ?
19. Do you subscribe to newspapers, magazines and buy books ?
20. Are you a member of a local club ?

B. Information about children

21. Names of children
22. Ages of children
23. Schools and grades in which children study
24. Confinements :

At husband's residence

At parent's residence

At maternity
home

At home

At maternity
home

At home

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
25. What was the state of your health during pregnancy ?
26. How much trouble was caused by toximias of pregnancy ?
27. Who celebrated the pregnancy feasts ?
28. Did you suffer during labour (premature baby, longer time at labour, forceps delivery, Caesarian Section) ?
29. How much rest did you take before and after confinement ?
30. Which articles of special nutritive diet were taken by you ?
31. Which medicines were taken by you ?
32. For how many days after confinement did you take oil massage ?
33. Was the naming ceremony of the children performed ?

34. Who chose the names of the children ?
35. Did you celebrate religious rites like Annaprasana (introducing the child to solid food), Caula (first hair-cut) and Upanayana (thread ceremony) for your children ?
36. Did you perform children's birthdays and Asvini ?

C. Food Habits

37. For how many days were the children breast fed ?
38. What was the interval between feeds ?
39. From what age were children given milk other than breast milk ? (cow's, buffalo's or tinned baby food)
40. Did you bottle feed the children ?
41. At what age were the children weaned ?
42. When did you introduce children to solid food ?
43. Upto what age were children fed by adults ?
44. What did the children drink in the morning ?
45. Do children carry tiffin to schools or come home for a snack or buy sweets near schools ?
46. Are the snacks or sweets, which are given to children, home made or purchased from market ?
47. Do children take meals in company of elders or dine separately ?

D. Personal Hygiene

48. From what age did you begin cleansing the children's teeth ?
49. From what age did the children begin to cleanse their teeth by themselves ?
50. What cleansing agent is used by children ? (tooth powder made by burning cowdung cake, burnt tobacco, tooth powder or tooth paste)
51. Do the children use tooth brush ?
52. Do the children take daily bath ?
53. What cleansing agent is used at bath ? (gram flour and milk or soap)
54. From what age did children begin to take bath by themselves ?
55. At what interval are the girls given hair wash ?

56. From what age did you start toilet training of your children ?
57. From what age did the children begin to use the privy ?
58. From what age did the children begin to cleanse themselves ?
59. From what age did the children stop bed-wetting ?

E. Health

60. At what age did you vaccinate the children ?
61. At what age did the children's teeth begin to erupt ?
62. Did the children experience teething trouble ?
63. At what age did the children begin walking ?
64. At what age did the children begin talking ?
65. Till what age did the children babble ?
66. Do any of the children wear glasses ?
67. With what illnesses did the children suffer ?
(measles, chicken-pox, whooping cough)
68. Are children's illnesses treated with domestic remedies ?
69. Are children treated at private dispensaries ?
70. Do you propitiate the gods (Nawas) or practise incantations (Drista) to ward off evil eyes ?

F. Education

71. *Pre-school Education* : Were the children educated at home before sending them to schools ? e.g. teaching songs, stories, simple mathematical additions and multiplications, alphabets, names of days in the week, months in the year, etc.
72. *Pre-primary Education* : Did you send your children to pre-primary schools ?
73. If yes, at what age ?
74. Were they benefited by attending pre-primary schools ?
75. If not sent to pre-primary schools, give reasons.
76. Were children obstinate in not going to schools ?
77. If yes, what measures were taken to overcome children's obstinacy ?
78. Who accompanied children to and from schools ?
Mother, father, servant, school conveyance, public transport bus.

79. From what age did children begin to go to schools independently ?
80. Do the children attend schools regularly ?
81. *Primary Education* : At what age were children sent to primary schools ?
82. Do children pass school examinations each year ?
83. Have children skipped over any grade in schools ?
84. Who helps children in their school home-work ?
85. How many times in a year have the books and slates got to be purchased ?
86. *Religious Education* : Do you worship idols of the gods at home ? Yes—No.
87. Do children bow to the gods, lamp, and elders in the family ? Yes—No.
88. Do children revise their lessons in the evening ? Yes—No.
89. Do you take children to temples ? Yes—No.
90. Do you celebrate religious festivals ? Yes—No.
91. Which of their works do children do by themselves ?
92. Do children help in household work ?

G. Recreation

93. What games do the children play ? Bat and ball, 'viti-dandu' (Rod and Bell), hide-seek, run and catch, one legged run and catch, cards, carrom-board, dolls, Bhatukali (A play among children in which they imitate the cooking of rice, laying out of a dinner, etc.), mecano, tricycle, toy-motor, etc.
94. Do the children go to play with neighbouring friends or to those who stay far away from your residence ?
95. Do the children keep their play equipment tidy ?
96. Do they allow other children to use their playthings ?
97. Do the siblings play with each other ? Yes—No.
98. Do the children attend 'Scouts' physical training classes conducted by Maharashtra Vyayam Mandal and R.S.S. gymnasiums ?
99. Do you take children for an evening walk to the parks ?

100. Do the children go to trips arranged by schools ?
101. Are the children taken to trips or journeys with the family ?
102. Are the children sent to stay with relatives living in Poona or outside Poona ?
103. Do children like to travel ? Yes—No.
104. Do you take children to movies ? (historical, social, mythological and English)
105. Do you send children to see movie shows arranged by school authorities or with their friends ? Yes—No.
106. Do you take children to see Ganapati festivities, the procession of Palkhi, exhibitions, toy-forts, Rangoli exhibitions ?
107. Do you take children with you when you visit your friends and acquaintances ? Yes—No.
108. Do the children play there or do they feel unhappy and insist on going back home ?
109. Do the children listen to radio programmes ?
110. Do the children have any hobbies such as singing, dancing, drumming, or drawing, etc. ?
111. Do the girls play 'Bhondla' (Religious songs and dances performed by girls in the month of October) and Bhatukali (A play among children in which they imitate cooking of rice, laying out of a feast, etc.) ?
112. Do the children read children's magazines, books or newspapers ?
113. Do you celebrate birthdays of children by inviting their friends for feasts and by giving them presents ?
114. Have you photographed your children ? Yes—No.

H. Miscellaneous

115. Are children afraid of cats, dogs, etc. ? Yes—No.
116. Have you frightened children with a bogey man ? Yes—No.
117. Have children a habit of nail or thumb sucking ?
118. What measures are taken if children behave obstinately ? Explain things to them, scolding, starving them, keep mum with them, beating, etc.
119. Are children shy or bold with strangers ?

120. What do children do, if they get presents of sweets or money from guests ?
121. Do you consult children's likes and dislikes while purchasing clothes for them ?
122. Of which of the family members are the children afraid ?
123. With which of the family members are children more close ?
124. Which of the family members help in looking after children ?
125. Does your husband help in looking after children ?
126. If there is a servant to look after children, what work does he do for them ?
127. On what business and for how many hours do you go out, keeping children indoors ?
128. If you go out for service, who looks after the children in your absence ?

1871. The first of the year was a very dry one, and the
crops were much injured. The weather was very hot,
and the ground was very dry. The crops were much
injured, and the weather was very hot. The ground
was very dry, and the crops were much injured.
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dry. The crops were much injured, and the weather
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injured, and the weather was very hot. The ground
was very dry, and the crops were much injured.

APPENDIX B

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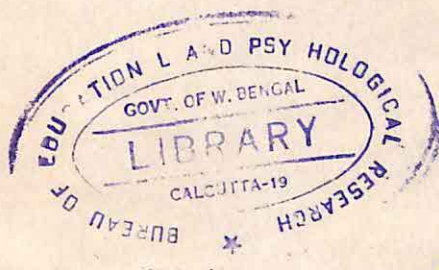
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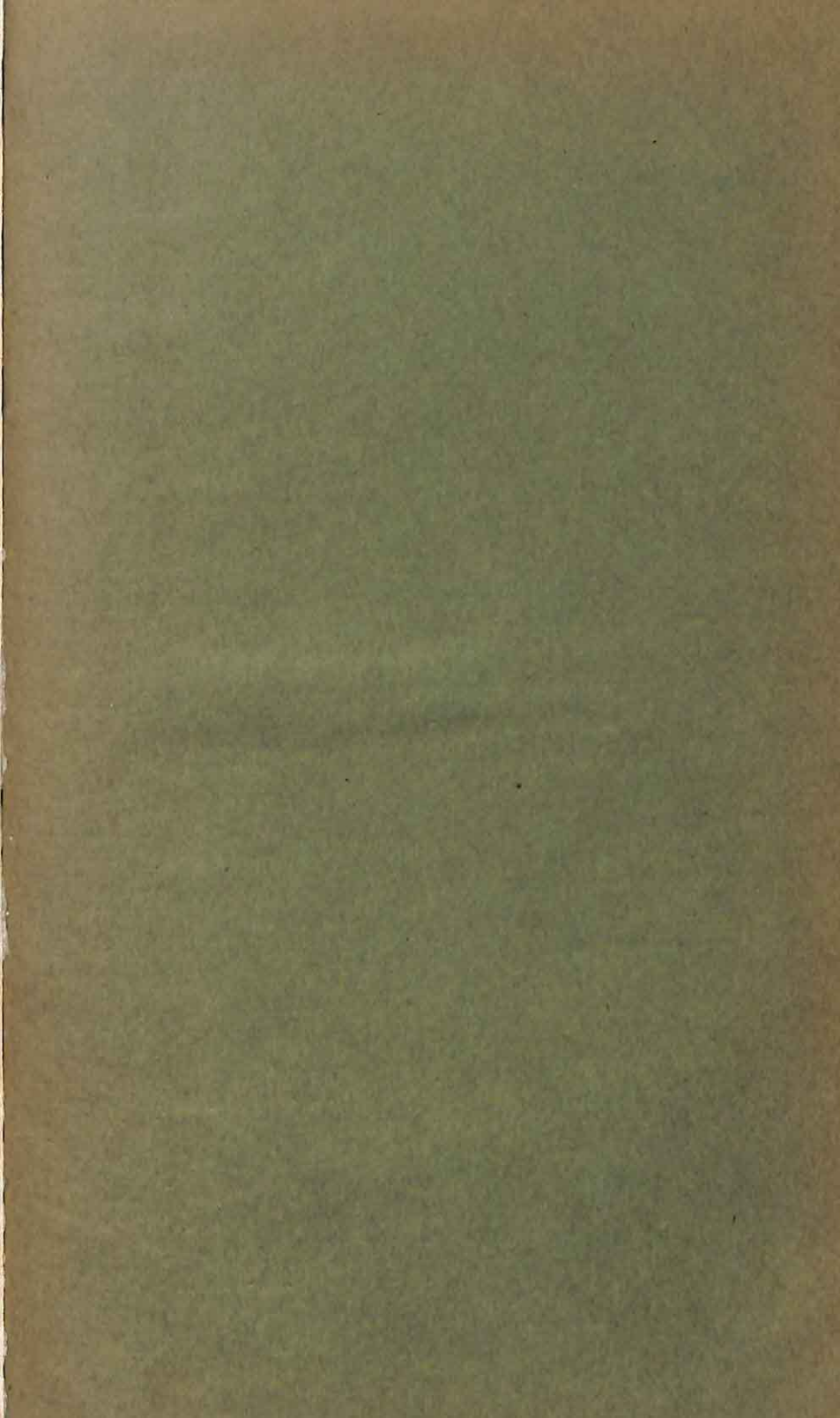
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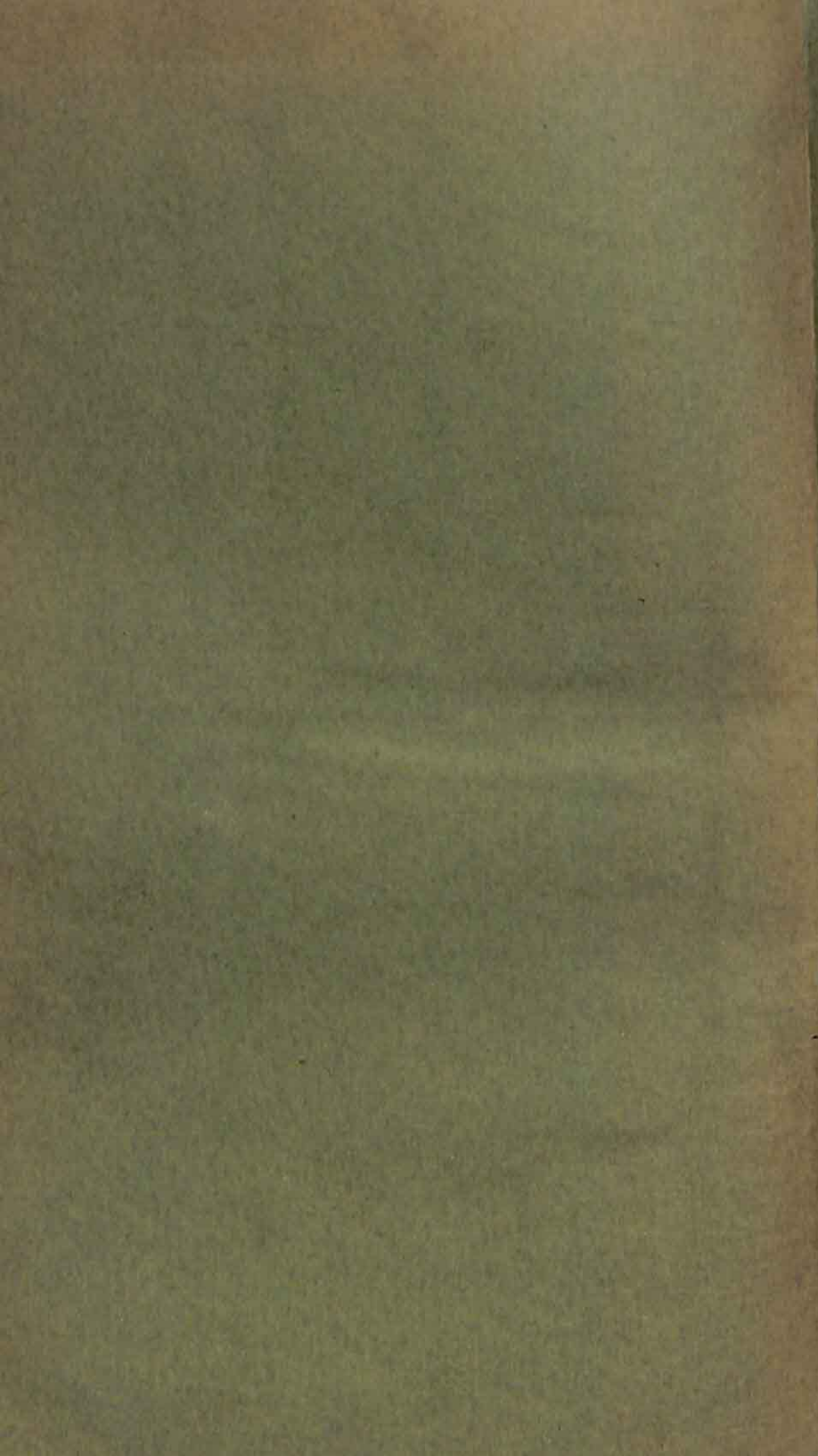
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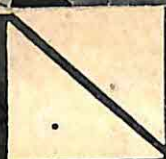




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